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CIVICS

Preliminaries of Citizenship : Civic Institutions
and Machinery : Civic Parties and Problems

BY

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TO THE MEMORY
OF
MY MOTHER

PREFACE

THE recent reforms in India have aroused a new interest in education in civic ideals and citizenship. The problems of Indian citizenship are somewhat peculiar and call for special treatment. The books placed in the hands of the young are generally written from the Western standpoint and have reference to the facts and institutions of Western life. An attempt is made in this book to lead the students to a correct conception of civic life and its growing responsibilities from a study of Indian habits and conditions as the outcome of the social history of the people. This line of treatment will, it is hoped, not only bring the Indian student into closer touch with realities but also will give the best possible introduction to a study of social sciences like Economics and Politics, which are mutually interdependent and rest on a common basis of social life.

My idea of the scope of Civics is well expressed as follows by a teacher of Civics in the London University :

“Just as the function of the State has gradually extended to include dealing with such fields of national life as Factory Laws and Education, Health and Housing, so our conception of a citizen has broken what may be called its legal bonds, and expanded into one of a social being with connections all round him in art and science, with roots in the past and aspirations for the future—an entity of greater richness and interest. It is with this fuller idea of citizenship and with the citizen as a member of an ever-enriching community that modern Civics deals.”

But the study of Civics now must take on a regional character. Social tradition differs with races and cultures, and has an evolution of its own. Social progress must relate itself to history and heritage, though it must approximate to the trend of human progress under certain common ideals. The citizen of a country is also to be a citizen of the world, but his efforts will centre round his family, his village, his region with which his daily life is bound up. In India, as elsewhere, the present social transition is breaking up established relations and involving much suffering. Some, full of enthusiasm for a new social order, want a return to the past and the golden age of simple virtues. Others would find progress in imitation, unmindful of social inheritance. The study of Civics must inspire a sane social optimism and a constructive idealism, which will not turn its back upon, but boldly face, the suffering that follows in the wake of progress. A new enthusiasm and efficiency in citizenship are needed to-day in India, and this book will fulfil its purpose if our students in the intermediate colleges and in universities are enabled to envisage more intelligently from its survey some of the problems that will face them as the citizens of to-morrow.

In conclusion, it is alike my duty and pleasure to thank my friend and colleague, Mr. N. K. Sidhanta, for the great care with which he looked through certain portions of the manuscript.

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CIVICS

PART I

CIVIC ORIGINS

CHAPTER I

BEGINNINGS OF SOCIAL LIFE

Sociability the Chief Factor in Evolution.—Society is much older than man himself. Throughout the ages before man was evolved certain animals lived in society and were becoming accustomed to the advantages afforded by association, which transformed them gradually and by degrees developed mental power. The animals which know best how to combine have the greatest chances for further evolution, even though they may be inferior to others in such qualities as force, speed and cunning, though not in intelligence. This last is generally admitted to be the most powerful aid in the struggle for existence. But the intellectual faculty is eminently a social faculty. Speech, imitation and tradition are so many elements of growing intelligence which the unsociable animals do not possess. According to Giddings, "The fittest are thus the most sociable animals, and sociability appears as the chief factor of evolution, both directly, by securing the well-being of the species while diminishing the waste of energy, and indirectly by favouring the growth of intelligence." Association thus differentiated animal life into kinds and brought to a high perfection the kinds that were best equipped with a social nature,

with habits of mutual aid, and with elementary forms of social organisation. It is in this sense that we can say that Man did not make society, society made Man.

Sociability Advantageous to Animals.—"The ant," observes Kropotkin, "thrives without having any of the protective features which cannot be dispensed with by animals living an isolated life. Its colour renders it conspicuous to its enemies, and the lofty nests of many species are conspicuous in the meadows and forests. The sting of a single individual is not formidable. Its eggs and larvæ are a dainty to many inhabitants of the forest. Yet ants are not much destroyed by birds, not even by ant-eaters, and are dreaded by most stronger insects."

Horses, badly organised on the whole for resisting both their numerous enemies and the adverse conditions of climate, would soon have disappeared from the surface of the earth were it not for their sociable spirit. When a beast of prey approaches them several studs unite at once; they repulse the enemy and sometimes chase it; and neither the wolf nor the bear, nor the King of Beasts himself, can capture a horse or even a zebra so long as it is not detached from the herd. And when a snowstorm rages in the steppes each stud keeps close together, and repairs to a protected ravine. But if confidence disappears, or the group has been seized by panic, and disperses, the horses perish and after the storm the survivors are found half-dying of fatigue. Similarly, there are herds and societies of such other intelligent animals as wolves, cattle, beavers, monkeys, and of birds such as cranes and parrots. Division of labour they easily resort to. There is combination in defence and attack. There are regulations defining mutual give and take and co-operation, which are fostered by common enemies and enterprise. Animal societies sometimes develop a tradition and transmit an

external legacy to the future. Family life, home-keeping, property both individual and collective, co-operation in food-getting, nest-building or other enterprises, collective migration and flight, are traditions in social animals, varying with species and conditions of life. These aid survival while favouring intelligence and kindliness.

Man's Nearest Relatives.—Man's direct ancestors are to be sought in monkeys very much lower than the anthropoids, which are only his cousins. The latter are strong creatures who can afford to live alone. They may live in families but are not social. But the lower monkeys live in society, and it is common knowledge how they club together to rob plantations, at the same time setting some of their number on the watch, and how they perform collectively other tasks such as removing heavy stones to get at the maggots beneath. Instances have been known of monkeys courageously facing enemies and calmly risking their lives for the sake of the young ones of the herd. Romanes, after referring to the well-known fact that the existing species of anthropoid apes are very few in number and appear all to be on the high road to extinction, continues: "When it is assumed that because the few existing and expiring species of anthropoid apes are unsocial and comparatively silent, therefore the simian ancestors of Man must have been so, it is enough to point to the variability of both these habits among certain allied genera of monkeys and baboons, in order at the same time to dispose of the assumption, and to indicate the probable reason why one genus of ape gradually becomes evolved into *Homo*, while all allied genera become, or are still becoming, extinct."

Effects of Social Life.—Life in society not only ensures a larger and more certain food supply and affords protection, but also makes possible the birth and nurture of a large number of offspring. It allows

of more division of labour, and hence assures greater freedom and fullness of life for the individual. It promotes kindness which gradually broadens, and breeds an atmosphere of unanimism conducive to the growth of tradition, which stabilises progress. Its effect on the development of intelligence, however, is more significant. In associated life individuals stimulate one another by acts and signs. Now, members of the same species are so constituted that they respond in like ways to the same stimulus. From this like response develop speech, understanding and capacity for learning. Giddings remarks : " From the moment that man began to practise speech, however feebly, however awkwardly, it began to develop a human nature." Speech developed curiosity, and wants and their satisfactions. It emphasised inequality on the one hand, and developed consciousness of kind on the other. " The inequality which inevitably exists in every group of animals or of men, and which is due to the difference of heredity, nourishment, environment and opportunity, had already become more pronounced among the highest sub-human species than it was among less developed species, as we know from the conspicuous part that leadership still plays among the gregarious mammalia." Leadership and loyalty give solidarity and coherence to the group and shield the individual who lives within it. Among the social animals the character of the struggle for existence thus is changed with the increase of co-operation, *esprit de corps* and goodwill. Increase in number and stability has developed a considerable division of labour and an elaborate code of conventions regulating collective life in the bee and ant communities. A society also implies a storing of energy and a registering of racial gains outside the organism. Permanent products have been accumulated and handed down by many social animals : such, for instance, are hives, ant-

hills, termitaries and beaver villages. Alike in men and social animals, we have division of labour and mutual co-operation which expand into the economic tradition ; we have leadership and allegiance, kindly emotions and resentment, ostracism and socially-enforced punishment, which expand into the ethical tradition ; we have the social use of the voice which expands into language. Human societies exhibit strands which go back to simpler animal societies, taking diverse forms according to food, numbers, species and so on.

Sociability an Advantage.—Study of the social life and organisation of animals thus shows unmistakably that sociability is an aid in the struggle for existence. Man, with sorrowful countenance, speaks not only of pain and strife ; even in Brehm's *Natural History* compassion is found. Darwin explained that social instincts are present in the lower animals, thus admitting their importance. His successors, however, neglected this aspect of his teachings, and above all failed to realise that, if these social instincts are traced back, a principle is arrived at which has been developed in and owing to struggle, but cannot have originated in it.

The struggle for existence is a struggle for energy. Man, who has acquired mastery over plant and animal kingdoms and the use of tools which can be laid aside or changed, can utilise for his own purposes unlimited quantities of energy.

Man's Success in the Struggle Due to Sociability.—The first and most primitive method of the struggle for energy consists in depriving others of something by killing them and endeavouring to utilise the energy formerly absorbed by them. But man with his machinery subordinates the old animal principles of struggle for existence to other principles. For is not man far less dependent upon physical advantages than animals ? It is well known that the human

organism during the nine months preceding birth summarises the course of its evolution. The human embryo at its successive stages resembles first the unicellular protozoa and subsequently the embryos of vermes, fish, amphibian, reptile and tailed quadruped. This is the truth underlying the Indian myth of the Ten Incarnations. In a similar way, Nicolai says every achievement of excellence produced at any time during millions of years in the animal kingdom man's young brain likewise has produced and brought to greater perfection. Man sees more clearly than the falcon, smells better than the dog, hears farther than the elephant and has a finer sense of touch than the bat. Man is stronger than the rhinoceros, while in speed man easily excels the horse on earth, the eagle in the air and the shark in the water. Our telephones and microphones enable us to hear farther and better, and our mechanical scales and other measuring instruments to feel more, than any animal with the best organs of sense. Truly, man's tools are weapons, but to be used against Nature and not against Man. Our first tool was a weapon, but a weapon in the struggle for food, and a tool for turning up the soil. Afterwards this weapon for attacking earth and wood was used against animals, and finally against man also. In this man has acted as a rebel, done something out of order in the scheme of Evolution. In the case of animals a new organ or an increased capacity of the organs is limited by their capacity to eat. Man, who lives in society, can create and utilise almost unlimited quantities of energy; so that, when man's struggle wins new ground, it is justifiable; when it merely aims at depriving others of something it is unjustifiable.

Greatness of the Human Brain.—It is towards larger creation and social use of energy that the structure of the human brain and the nervous organisation have been differentiated. Now, the human

brain, on which have been registered the effects of man's mastery over nature and his sociality, is about 100 per cent. greater in proportion to the body than the brain of any other living creature, even of the highest order.

Evolution of Brain Power and Its Correlations.—Thus, the important differences between man and the catarrhine apes are correlates of one fact, namely, increased dependence for survival upon brain work. "The use of the front limbs, not for supporting the body but for manipulation, which is begun by the apes, is a correlate of increasing brain work and brain power. Improvements in the hands are selected for survival when brain can use the hands. Adjustment to the upright posture, strengthening the lower limbs to bear the whole burden of locomotion, diminishing the relative weight of the fore limbs and shortening them so as to manipulate at the present focal distance of the eyes, and the degeneracy of the jaws no longer selected for the purpose of prehension which the hands have assumed, together with increase of brain mass, are all parts of one correlated change. The excessive lengthening of the arms is an adjustment to the period of transition during which there is frequent alternation between the quadruped and bipedal posture." Given that the pre-human species living in communities tended to intellectual advance and that natural selection would lay a greater and greater premium on intelligent co-operation, as in the case of social insects, there seems no great difficulty in imagining how man would evolve. Indeed, the comparative growth of brain structure in man is not really so striking an exhibition of the power of social evolution in moulding individual structure as is presented by ants.

Man's Responsibility for His Own Evolution.—Social evolution thus begins among the higher animals, and social co-operation heightens the efficiency of

brain work and renders more certain the selection for survival of advantageous brain qualities. The use of force in dealings within society, as in theft, robbery, etc., or between nations, as in war, piracy and plundering, which is inimical to the evolution of mental life, therefore upsets the age-long evolutionary process which has selected man for the highest destinies. With all his faults, however, man understands his unrealised goal. He alone knows the penalty of biological aberration or the reward of biological duty, and it is his prerogative to understand and then consciously control his evolution according to the ideal. That ideal is now sought, not through the strifes and hatreds of the nations, but rather by their friendly co-operation in healing and enlightening works of peace and in the growth of a spirit of friendship and mutual confidence which may remove the causes of war.

NOTES

Struggle for Existence.—"The world is the abode of the strong," but also it is the house of the loving. Thomson observes that Darwin distinctly stipulated that the phrase "the struggle for existence" was to be used in a wide and metaphorical sense—to include all the endeavours which animals make, both selfishly and unselfishly, to strengthen their foothold and that of their offspring. While he emphasised the competition that often ensues when living creatures are confronted by serious difficulties and limitations, he clearly recognised that another kind of response that pays is some experiment in mutual aid, co-operation and parental care.

The Social and Economic Life of Animals.—Among many animals there is co-operation in labour, as well as combination for attack or defence. Brehm relates that baboons and other monkeys act in thorough concert in plundering expeditions, sending scouts, posting sentinels, and even

forming a long chain for the transport of the spoil. It is said that several hamadryad baboons will unite to turn over a large stone, sharing the booty found underneath. When the Brazilian kite has seized a prey too large for it to carry, it summons its friends ; and Kropotkin cites a remarkable case in which an eagle called others to the carcase. Pelicans fish together in great companies, forming a wide half-circle facing the shore and catching the fish thus enclosed. Burial beetles unite to bury the dead mouse or bird in which the eggs are laid, and dung-beetles help one another in rolling balls of food. But of all cases of combined activity the migration of birds is at once the most familiar and the most beautiful—the gathering together, the excitement before starting, the trial flights, the reliance placed in the leaders. Migration is usually social, and is probably sometimes facilitated by social tradition.—(*Vide* Thomson : *The Study of Animal Life*, pages 78, 79.)

CHAPTER II

INFLUENCE OF GEOGRAPHICAL CONDITIONS ON SOCIAL LIFE

Race Formation Governed by Climate.—From the physical standpoint the life and growth of society may be explained in terms of race and region. Race and region are connected closely with one another. The word race is popularly associated with colour of skin. It is now believed that there is definite correlation between the colour-shading of man and the distribution of light. Under the conditions of a cool, damp climate, with little sunlight and considerable gloom, whiteness of skin may have had a definite adaptive value, just as darkness of skin, because it affords protection from the light rays of the sun, is the prevailing characteristic of races living along the equatorial zone. Hence all individuals living in temperate or high latitudes who possessed variations in the pigment cells in the direction of greater bloneness were more likely to survive and to transmit to their children this tendency to bloneness. All others not so favoured would live under a handicap and, in time, become exterminated.¹ There is no doubt that climate governs not merely physical qualities and characters but also the temperament of a race. Thus the anthropologist and the comparative psychologist are now co-operating with each other in measuring differences between the averages for different peoples. The dark skin of the tropical races and their woolly hair are found correlated also with emotional instability. And the hypothesis is suggested that the internal secretions and other chemical messengers

¹ Chapin : *Social Evolution*, page 222.

which ultimately bring about the equilibrium of the living organism in a given environment have been governing factors in the formation and differentiation of racial types. It is noteworthy that the shape and the size of the body, the distribution of the hair and the strength of the secondary sex characters as seen in different races are known to vary together.

Social Life Governed by Region.—But the region not merely governs man's bodily and mental make-up directly. It also determines the kind and the character of a people's occupations, which govern largely its social life. Hunting, pastoral life, agriculture and manufacture indirectly influence man's mental and social evolution. Even, in an advanced economic stage, whether a people will live in great estates or in small holdings often determines the fundamental characteristics of social life. Large estates imply a large class of landless labourers, possibly serfs. The elaborate organisation of the village community discriminates carefully between individual use and common ownership; and this mitigates the contrast between the owners and the non-owners of land. The feudal system, the precursor of landlordism, based originally on the power of the barons, has governed, to a large extent, the formation of the State and law in Western Europe. The settlement of land in the form of small independent farms in the United States, on the extending frontiers of an advancing civilisation, similarly reveals the fundamental characteristics of American life. The American populations, while mechanically expert, occupy lands so extensive and so fertile as to enable them to prosper more by cultivating great areas with the help of farm machinery than by turning to manufacturing industries and intensive agriculture as the peoples of the Old World have done.

Where the land mass is large and mineral resources limited, dense populations come into close relation-

ship. The creation and maintenance of irrigation channels often call for co-operation which develops the well-knit village communities. A strong government is organised in the level plains to protect the people from invasion from the hill and mountain tribes. Easy access of large masses of population to the soil is favourable to peasant proprietorship, the development of arts and crafts and small industries in connection with agriculture, and an interdependent system of village and city economy. Where mineral resources are abundant but resources in land neither extensive nor fertile, manufacturing industries develop divorced from agriculture, and there is a gradual tendency towards concentration of capital and population.

Region and Civilisation.—From the early growth of civilisation we find that land fertility conditions social phenomena. Civilisation has its birth where Nature has offered the largest free gifts. But civilisation has come to maturity only where Nature by her niggardliness or her frowns braces man for labour and yet does not break down his habit of industry and thrift with enervating heat, as in the sweltering plains of the tropics, or with a long benumbing of winter, as in the polar regions, where life cannot develop beyond the struggle with desolation, dearth and darkness. In advanced or mature civilisations the effects of climatic and physical factors are, however, no less significant than among less advanced and immature peoples.

Peoples of Mountain and Plain.—Rivers, mountain chains, jungles, swamps, each as the dominating feature of a region stamps the social and economic organisation of a people with a different impress. The political independence and valour of mountain stocks, safely secured in their tiny plateaux or valleys, are well known. But sometimes the mountains keep the people apart in petty groups, each independent

of the others. Similarly, the peaceful agricultural people in an open plain, separated, though not wholly, by a mountain range, cannot long withstand invasion from swooping mountain stocks which are more warlike, vigorous and virile. Thus much of the history of the world is the history of the fight between the mountain people of the cold climes and the plain people of the temperate and hot regions. The people in the warmer lowlands are easily subjugated by the hardier races born and bred in the more rigorous climates further or higher up. But when through long residence in the plains the conquerors have become enervated, they in turn fall easy victims to the attack of another people from a less generous environment.

Climate and Marriage.—Climatic and geographical conditions, by determining the severity or otherwise of economic life, explain many other social phenomena. They furnish the keys to many strange and unnatural types of marriage. Polyandry as well as widespread celibacy in Tibet are induced by the niggardliness of Nature in that bleak, infertile plateau. Severity in economic struggle accounts for polyandry and infanticide as well as cannibalism in the islets in Polynesia. Where Nature is too lavish in her gifts the woman can care for herself and her family without the support of the husband, and the marital relationship cannot be stable. "In the tropical forests of the Andaman Islands, which are dry and healthy and afford an abundance of food, a woman and her infant child can find subsistence without the husband's help, and it is therefore not remarkable that marriage among the Mincopis is commonly dissolved as soon as the child is weaned."¹

In India the neglect of female infants, the evil effects of early marriage and child-bearing on the female constitution, the hard work done by females

¹ Giddings : *Principles of Sociology*.

in rice-fields, have profoundly disturbed the proportion of the sexes, there being only 937 females to 1,000 males. If to this we add the rapidly ageing effect of the climate on women and the relatively insignificant value of women in the chief occupations, we understand the origin of such curious customs as hypergamy, marriage of girls by purchase, child widowhood, the dowry system, etc.

Religion as Determined by Nature.—Even religion, which transcends time and space, is conceived in terms of the environment. The worship of the rivers in the regions of uncertain rainfall, the worship of the god of light and heat in lofty plateaux, or again the dream of paradise as an oasis with shade and flowing water, or as Indra's happy court where dance the ever-youthful angels, or as a walled city, or as a great hall like the Norse Valhalla where those who die in battle continue to fight for Odin—all show how the inclemencies of the environment are reflected in the religion of the region. In India the dramatic contrasts of the seasons and of dawn and evening have been expressed in many a beautiful myth and in the succession of fasts and feasts. But the people are most vitally interested in rainfall. Thus, from the Gods, Dyaus and Indra of Vedic cosmogony to the mother goddess worshipped with pig and fowl by the aboriginal tribes during times of famine, we have the roots of religion in the phenomena of Nature. The creed of the peasant of Northern India is the creed of the Divine Cow-herd who loves the flocks and protects them from storms and floods, a simple pastoral religion dependent upon the meadows, rivers and hill-sides amid which the people's life is passed and natural phenomena to which they become accustomed. On the other hand, the fishermen, who brave storms, obey other gods; the mountain tribes worship the old god of the mountain and the forest; the forest-dwellers worship the elephant-headed Ganesa and the monkey-

god, who are in process of being incorporated into the orthodox Hinduism of the plains; the artisans of the city adore the deities of the implements and professions: thus their religions are different from the religion of village folk, whose lives are governed by the sunshine and the rainfall.

NOTES

Direct Influence of Environment on the Bodily Form of Man.—Professor Boas found as a result of his inquiry into the physical characteristics of immigrants that the American-born descendants of these differ from their parents; and that these differences develop in early childhood and persist throughout life. It was found that the head-form, which has always been considered one of the most stable characteristics of human races, undergoes far-reaching changes due to the transfer of races of Europe to America. He concludes: "I think, therefore, that we are justified in the conclusion that the removal of the East European Hebrew to America is accompanied by a marked change in type, which does not affect the young child born abroad and growing up in American environment, but which makes itself felt among the children born in America even a short time after the arrival of the parents in this country. The change of the type seems to be very rapid, but the changes continue to increase so that the descendants of immigrants born a long time after the arrival of the parents in this country differ far more from their parents than those born a short time after the arrival of the parents in the United States."—(*Changes in the Bodily Form of Descendants of Immigrants*, page 52.)

Climate and Art.—Heinrich Von Treitschke, in his *Politik*, ascribes the absence of artistic and poetic development in Switzerland and the Alpine region to the overwhelming aspect of Nature, whose majestic sublimity there paralyses the mind. He cites the fact that, by contrast, the lower mountains and hills of Swabia, Franconia, and Thuringia, with their less sublime scenery, stimulating,

but not overpowering, have produced many poets and artists. Moreover, the geographical distribution of awards made by the Paris Salon of 1896, shows that art flourishes in the river lowlands of France where Nature is more appealing, rather than in the rough highlands of Savoy, and the massive Eastern Pyrenees. But this difference might be explained on racial grounds, because the population of the lowlands is Teutonic and the peoples of the highlands are Alpine and Celtic.—(From Chapin: *Social Evolution*.)

CHAPTER III

THE GEOGRAPHICAL FACTOR IN HISTORY

Effect of Temperature on Human Energy.—The physical features of a country not only mould its social and economic institutions, but also govern largely its history, which is a record of past achievements. This is best illustrated in the case of non-migratory races, as in India and China, which have been adapted by selective processes of centuries to their physical environment, and which represent volumes of settled population so large that their customs and traditions can be modified but little by dribblets of immigration. In the case of India, however, the slow but continuous immigration through centuries which was encouraged by the peculiar position of the peninsula extending towards the sea in the tropics and the north-western gate facing some of the world's most forcible, roving races, played a large part in governing her social and political history. In spite of her geographic isolation, India is in more than one respect a part of the Asiatic continent. With the mainland of Asia, India shows an extreme difference of temperature between summer and winter. This has been most unfavourable to the development of human energy. According to Huntington, the best climate ought to have an average temperature not far from 40° F. during the winter to stimulate the mind, and of about 64° during the summer to stimulate the body. Part of the Madras Presidency has an annual average temperature of over 85° F. The heat is much greater in continental India, though the annual average temperature is less. In the United Provinces the average temperature in May is between

90° and 100°, with an average daily range of between 20° to 30°. The hot weather season, which lasts in India from March to June, is one of constantly increasing temperature both in peninsular and continental India, where the heat during the day is greatest. The greatest temperature yet recorded in India was 126° F. at Jacobabad in Upper Sind. Under such conditions there is always a feeling of lassitude ; it is difficult to exert the mind, and habits of industry and self-reliance are gained very slowly. In Bengal the average temperature throughout the year lies between 60° and 85°.

The effect of the heat in tropical India is seen not merely in the loss of the strength and efficiency of the people but also in the increased death-rate from bacterial diseases. In the Deccan the healthy period is much shorter. Only among the hills does malaria cease to be a health hazard of the first magnitude.

Climatic Changes and Migration.—Ethnically speaking also, India is a sub-region of Asia. With China, India continuously received accession of strength and virility from the nomads of the North who had to quit their pasture grounds owing to the gradual desiccation of Central Asia. Thus disturbances in the climatic conditions of Central and Western Asia have been felt in the pulsations of people, who exhibit a continuous outward thrust from the cold continental land mass to the tropics, from the tropics again to the temperate sea-fringes. Such has been the story of the broad migrations of peoples which have touched Indian shores corresponding to the outward rush in winter of the winds from Asia.

Monsoons and Overseas Trade.—As a part of the Asiatic continent, India is profoundly modified by the in-swirl of the air round “ the central Asian furnace-flue ” during the summer, and the corresponding winter out-swirl. The south-west monsoon blowing towards India formerly established the regular

sea traffic between India and the African coast in the days of sailing vessels. Hippalus's discovery of the sea-route to India (which is placed at about A.D. 45), aided by the south-west wind which was henceforth called Hippalus, opened a new ocean to Roman shipping. Thus there were developed the important Tamil ports in the modern districts of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore. Historians, however, are of opinion that the monsoons were understood before the time of Hippalus and that Arabian and native Dravidian craft had frequented that ocean for many centuries. Thus the monsoon created a flourishing sea-trade, largely in native Dravidian craft, which was of great influence from very early times in the interchange of ideas as well as commodities, not only in South India, but also in the Persian Gulf and the coasts of Arabia and Africa, with which the trade was principally maintained. Probably it was through these activities, which made Dravidian India known to the outside world much earlier than Northern India, that the rice crop, indigo, tamarind-wood, sandal-wood, ivory, precious stones and other South Indian products, as well as the compact village organisation, were transported to the Mediterranean region through the Persian Gulf and Arabia, from which traffic the navigation of the Indian Ocean began. Perhaps the undoubted similarity of the Sumerian and Dravidian ethnic types may be explained by the prehistoric connection between Western Asia and the Deccan.

The Arabs, Greeks, Romans, Jews, Syrian Christians, Portuguese, Dutch, French and English successively came to the south-western coast of India as pirates, merchants or refugees, but the ocean fettered invasions while permitting dribblets of immigration. South-Western India is thus a witness of the slow and peaceful blending of the native Indian, the West Asiatic and European cultures, which has left its mark upon the internal social economy and village life of the

people. The Jews and the Christians, for instance, have contributed new elements harmonising more closely with the institutions of India in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore than elsewhere.

Monsoons and Agriculture.—The monsoons not only encourage trade and maritime activity, but also support a prosperous agriculture and are responsible for the density of the populations of India and China. If the monsoons destroy one crop, the abundance of water guarantees that a second crop will grow on the same land. Secondly, the two-crop system, which is the characteristic of the monsoon lands, preserves the soil from exhaustion. The typical monsoon plant is rice, but the monsoons have encouraged a rotation of crops, which is the mainstay of successful agriculture. Grams, beans and pulses, which are largely grown as independent catch-crops, serve to modify the preponderance of starch consumption in an essentially rice diet. Rice demands many labourers and minute individual attention from them ; it requires no elaborate agricultural tools, and but little manure, but careful regulation of the water supply is essential. Rice can flourish only by arduous hand labour and by irrigation of the flat basins under co-operative management. The rice-fields must be watered and drained at fixed intervals under careful supervision and equitable collective discipline. Rice thus encourages communal instincts and habits due to this need of co-operation for the utilisation of water. Rice is associated with a collective economic management, a dense population and a relatively low standard of living. In China, India and Java, on mountain slopes and in level plains, success in rice cultivation is made possible by the most marvellous co-operative enterprise and the most effective self-government in rural communes. The geography of rice in India has governed her agriculture. Parts of India have reached the ultimate stage of agriculture where man grows by his own labour the

food for his support, and there is small possibility for increase of food production. On the other hand, the narrow strip between the Arabian Sea and the Western Ghats, cut off from the rest of the peninsula and inundated by the first rush of the south-west monsoon, is inhabited by a people who are in a backward condition as compared with the inhabitants of other parts of India. Like the Negritos of Burma, they live on rice, which yields an abundant harvest even under a very primitive system of agriculture.

India Not a Typically Asiatic Region.—But India exhibits also marked differences from the general physical features of the continent. First, the enormous mountain ranges on the north, and the elevated land masses on the north-west and north-east, have modified the continental climate, especially in the Indo-Gangetic plain. Secondly, the southern part of India is very much influenced by its peninsular character, its coasts being bathed by the Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal. The peninsular part of India has never the extremes of either cold or heat of the northern and continental part. The Himalayas have caused Northern India to be warmer than the Chinese districts in the same latitude. The Himalayas, by robbing the monsoons of their moisture, have made the Indo-Gangetic plain a vast well-watered garden and the regions in Central Asia arid wastes. The Himalayas, which are covered with perennial snow, have constituted an unfailing reservoir for both the Ganges and the Indus river systems, and make it possible for a fifth of the cultivated land of India to be irrigated. The antiquity and continuity of Indian civilisation depend largely on the perennial flow of these mighty rivers, which have never dried up, and which, unlike the rivers of China, have never departed materially from their main channels. Thus the successive waves of Aryan, of Scythian, of Mongolian or of Turkish invasion have followed the routes of the mighty rivers,

eastward and south-westward. Invasions have been hindered, first, by the difficulties at the north-western gateway; secondly, by the natural barriers which divide Hindustan from the Deccan and separate the coast regions of the east and the west from the interior of the peninsula proper; thirdly, by the rise of fortified cities, and of States and principalities along the great plains of the rivers which invaders could not "occupy" effectively. Thus the invasions have been slow and gradual and have affected the capital cities only. Not merely has the rural civilisation been subject to no shock and collision of forces devastating the country from the north, south, east and west, but the very slowness of the invasions and the long period through which the cultural conflicts were sought to be adjusted led to assimilation and exchange. The country, so vast and so difficult of approach as to be beyond the effective sweep of foreign conquest, enjoyed a good deal of local autonomy in rural communes, guilds and assemblies. The vitality and continuity of Indian civilisation are due to the fact that the social polity of India nurtured her ancient traditions unaffected by the appearance and disappearance of empires, which never encroached upon the rights of indigenous local bodies and assemblies.

North-Western Gateway of India.—It is along the great plain of the waterways that the Indo-Aryans and successive invaders have dispersed south-eastward down to Bengal and south-westward to Kathiawar and the Bombay Presidency. The great ancient trade route connecting India with Central and Western Asia lay by way of Taxila. Taxila, therefore, was one of the most cosmopolitan cities of the East, the seat of an ancient university which attracted students from different countries. Along this great road marched the advancing hordes of Central and Western Asia eager to conquer the fertile plains. It is not by accident that Peshawar (ancient Purushpur),

Rawalpindi (near old Taxila) and Umballa are important British Cantonments, placed on the highway of invasion from the north-western gateway. Chandragupta, the Maurya Emperor, pushed the frontier to the natural barrier of the Hindu Kush, which separated his empire from that of Seleucus Nicator and gave India the only lasting peace she knew in the past. When this scientific frontier could not be maintained, and powerful kingdoms arose south of the Hindu Kush, India became the victim of a series of invasions. Even now the frontier question is one of great gravity, and the power of British arms has been subjected to severe tests in the face of the uncertain situation now that the natural barrier is no longer controlled by the British. From the Panjab plain to the plain of the Jumna and the Ganges the road lies between the desert and the mountains and is rich in memories of ancient great battles which governed the destiny of Hindustan: Kurukshetra, Thaneswar, Panipat. The British Army traversed the same track beaten by adventurers, conquerors and empire-builders in previous ages when it conquered the Panjab and, again, when it reconquered Delhi from the mutineers. Delhi, the central city of Hindustan, the imperial city *par excellence*, the cradle and the grave of successive empires, lies towards the south-east on the same track, the natural site of an imperial capital and the centre of the struggle for the empire. Thus it was no accident that, when the frontier was beginning to show unrest, Delhi was restored as the imperial capital, with Simla, long the summer capital, looking over the region from the Himalayas; and that the northern division of the present defences is distributed from the port of Calcutta, past Benares, Lucknow, Allahabad, Delhi and Meerut to Peshawar, the garrison city on the frontier; and the southern army through the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, and the port of Karachi to

Quetta. It is also no strange coincidence that from Delhi it is possible to travel by two routes to Karachi ; by two routes to Calcutta ; by two routes to Bombay, and thence to Madras.

Race Intermixture in India and its Effects.—It ought to be mentioned in this connection that, England being a sea-power, her conquest of the mainland was preceded by her mastery over Bengal after the battle of Plassy and over the eastern waterway. Similarly the conquest of the Panjab was rendered inevitable by the mastery of the English over the Indus navigation. Eastward and south-westward along the valleys of the rivers we have a dense population. Bengal is one of the most densely-peopled tracts on the earth's surface. If the river could be confined to one bed definitely the lower Indus area might be as prosperous and as populous as the lower Ganges. As the conquerors gradually settled themselves in the fertile level plains, the aboriginal population moved eastward to Bengal and south-westward to the forest recesses of the hills of the Deccan plateau. Thus the predominance of aboriginal blood rendered Magadha the head-quarters of Buddhism, which naturally could not obtain its first adherents from the Brahmanic people. The tendency of race intermixture has been most strong in Bengal. First, the small colonies of ancient Aryan emigrants settling amongst aboriginal peoples intermarried with the latter. Secondly, the prevalence of Buddhism for centuries encouraged such intermixture. The strength of Buddhism in Bengal was no doubt derived in part from the non-Aryan element in the population. Even now the traces of Buddhism that are found in Bengal are to be seen among the lower semi-aboriginal castes like the Bagdis, the Haris, the Doms, etc. The " depressed classes " of Bengal are mostly the survivors of the now forgotten Buddhism. This mixture of stocks has been very beneficial. This has given to the Bengali a

plasticity, variability and catholicity which have left their marks on his social forms. In the first place, a large portion of his decorative and artistic skill, *i.e.* delicacy of touch and manipulation of finger movements, is due to the incorporation of the Dravidian element, characterised by a high degree of natural endowment in these respects. Secondly, crossing has ensured plasticity and individual vigour and has created the investigating, critical and catholic spirit. Eclecticism in religion, the study of knowledge for its own sake, individualism in law and family life and passion for self-rule have characterised the Aryo-Dravidian people from ancient times. These have been strengthened by Bengal's early participation in maritime and commercial activity from beyond the Delta to the sea. Tamalitti (Midnapore coast), Champa (Bhagalpur), Pataliputra and Benares were ancient marts from which passengers and traders went out from the river to the sea, and coasted round India from Bharukaccha (Broach) to Suvarnabhumi (Burma), halting at a Ceylon port; and Ceylon was "another bourne of oversea commerce and one associated with perils around which Odyssean legend has grown up." Immigrants came, not merely from the sea, but also from the north-eastern gateway of the Himalayas. There has been a continuous infiltration of Mongolian stocks, cults, and institutions along the valley of the Tsanpo and the Brahmaputra into Assam and the northern parts of Bengal. Sind also, for the same reasons, had shown a good deal of intermixture in her population. Sind was the first tract in India to be raided by the Muhammadans overseas and the first to develop an eclectic cult based on a compromise between Islam and Hinduism. But the ancient cosmopolitanism of Sind, which is attested by the discovery of foreign hieroglyphics, alphabets and coins in her sand-buried cities, is now a part of forgotten history. Since the beginning of historic times there has been a

slow settlement in Western India of the Sakas, who, mixing with the natives, established a type traceable from the Western Panjab as far south as Coorg. Mixing with the Dravidians, they became the forefathers of the Marathas, who in their mountain fastnesses and slopes continued well into recent times the nomadic and predatory habits of their ancestors. Then there were also tribes from Persia who sought refuge in large numbers after the conquest of their country by the Arabs. The Arabs, Turks, Pathans and Moguls (Mongols) have invaded India in historical times and contributed to make the race problem in this region exceedingly complicated.

Delta Provinces of India.—Bengal and Sind thus resemble each other as deltas on the two sides of a sub-continent and present many common features in invasional history. But Sind, unlike Bengal, lies just outside the range of both the south-west and the north-east monsoons, and is bounded on the east by the desert tract. Sind could not support, therefore, a continuous civilisation. Bengal, on the other hand, was aided by Nature to develop a more stable culture on the basis of her agricultural prosperity and trading activity.

Primitive Forest Folk of the Deccan.—Like Bengal and Sind, the two coast lands of peninsular India have an independent history. In the first place, the Deccan, which is separated from Northern India by the Vindhya and Satpura mountains and the forests of Central India, had its own indigenous race, history and civilisation. In the past no ruler excepting Asoka had ever more than temporarily extended his sovereignty over the Deccan. It is to the forest-clad ranges of the Deccan that the earlier people were pushed by successive inroads, so that it is there that we find their most characteristic representatives among the primitive tribes in the hills and jungles of Malabar and Coorg, the Santal *parganas* and the Chota Nagpur

division. Here in the hills and forests they continue to speak dialects of the oldest form of language in India. They are easily recognisable by their black skin, their squat figure and the negro-like breadth of their nose ; but these original characteristics have been modified by contact with Aryan, Dravidian and Mongoloid elements. Thurston says : " It is the Pre-Dravidian aborigines, and not the later and more cultured Dravidians, who must be regarded as the primitive existing race. These Pre-Dravidians are differentiated from the Dravidian classes by their short stature and broad (platychine) noses. There is strong ground for the belief that the Pre-Dravidians are ethnically related to the Veddas of Ceylon, the Todas of the Celebes, the Batins of Sumatra, and possibly the Australians." The Pre-Dravidians of the Nilgiri Hills and the forest-clad ranges of Travancore, though they have been for ages within touch of the civilised Dravidian classes of the coast lands, are amongst the most primitive savages of the world. Indonesia, supposed to be the original home of the human race, now exhibits its most backward specimens, due to abundance of food in the steaming equatorial forest. But it is the Proto-Dravidians or Proto-Polynesians who domesticated the rice-plant. Later it travelled by sea to Europe and Africa, and also spread in other parts of Asia. To this people we owe the compact village organisation based on rice cultivation, impressed by the lessons learnt in the early struggle with forest and water.

India's Coasts and Indian Sea-power.—Secondly, physical features have marked out each of the coast lands in peninsular India for a different history. The Malabar coast strip is too narrow ; and, since the Western Ghauts are much higher than the Eastern Ghauts, there are no rivers that flow into the Arabian Sea between Surat and Cape Comorin. The strip of low land between the Eastern Ghauts and the Bay of

Bengal is watered by the Mahanadi, Godavari, Krishna and Kaveri, which, taking their rise in the western side of the Deccan, flow across the peninsula, emerge through the openings in the Eastern Ghauts and empty themselves into the bay. Thus, the Carnatic, the Northern Circars and Orissa always have been accessible to civilising influences, and the ancient dynasties of South India fixed their capitals in those regions. It was here that flourished the "State of Kaviripattinam (Kamara in Periplus, Khabasi of Ptolemy), capital of Chola, on the Kaveri river, at about the same period, as a centre of international trade, especially frequented by Yavana (Yona, Ionian) merchants."¹ Under the Chola emperors a great fleet was maintained, and, apart from the conquest in the mainland, Kalinga and Ceylon, the Laccadives and Maldives, and the Andaman and Nicobar islands were conquered (985-1035). A maritime culture was fostered, and there was maintained from here an active communication with the islands of the Archipelago, the *narikel dwipas*, and with Java, Siam, Cambodia and China. The whole coast of Further India from Suvarnabhumi or Burma to China, and also of the islands of the Malay Archipelago, was studded with prosperous Indian colonies and naval stations, which ships regularly plying in the eastern waters between India and China constantly used as halting-places. The political and trading relations which the Chalukya, the Chola and Kalinga emperors established with Bengal, the ancient kingdom of Prome, with Malacca and China, by their mastery over the eastern waters adduce evidence of the influence of sea-power on the formation of empire very different from the empires in continental India established by land-locked States. The intercourse between the east coast of India and the opposite coast of the Bay of Bengal and Straits of Malacca, which first attained prominence during the ascendancy of

¹ *A Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 212-13.

Buddhism, has a long and chequered history. It has left its impress on the religion and art, culture and social institutions of Further India, Java and Cambodia. At the present day Indians still emigrate in large numbers to the Straits Settlements and Malay States, attracted by the demand for labour in the plantations, Madras being the principal source of supply. It was not till the Muhammadan inroad in 1310 that the power of the Cholas and the Pandyas, which was based on maritime activity, declined. As late as 1288 and 1293 Marco Polo, who visited Kayal on the Tamraparni, stated that the town was a busy and wealthy port frequented by crowds of ships from the Arabian coast and China, in one of which he himself arrived. It is also natural that the contending claims of the English and the French, both sea-powers, for the possession of India were decided in the Carnatic when the attack of Lally against Madras was checked by the British fleet and Eyre Coote won the battle at Wandiwash. Vincent Smith writes: "The mastery of the sea, which usually, although not invariably, remained in British hands, gave the opponents of the French an advantage which no minor successes on land could balance. Neither Bussy nor Dupleix singly, nor both combined, had a chance of success against the Government which controlled the sea routes and the resources of the Gangetic valley. Neither Alexander the Great nor Napoleon could have won the empire of India by starting from Pondicherry as a base and contending with the power which held Bengal and command of the sea."

Geography the Key to History.—Thus the same geographical factors which determined the political destiny of India in the past govern it in a different way when the conquerors are seafaring nations of the West and not the hordes and tribes of Central and Western Asia. It is thus that we find that geography still provides the keys to political history; although, as

the means of communication are developed and the physical barriers that separate the different natural regions are removed, ideas will play a greater rôle in the social evolution of the future.

NOTE

The Pulse of Asia.—In relatively dry regions increasing aridity is a dire calamity, giving rise to famine and distress. These, in turn, are fruitful causes of wars and migrations, which engender the fall of dynasties and empires, the rise of new nations, and the growth of new civilisations. If, on the contrary, a country becomes steadily less arid, and the conditions of life improve, prosperity and contentment are the rule. There is less temptation to war, and men can attend to the gentler arts and sciences which make for higher civilization. . . . Among primitive men the nature of the province which a tribe happens to inhabit determines its mode of life, industries and habits ; and these in turn give rise to various moral and mental traits, both good and bad. Thus definite characteristics are acquired, and are passed on by inheritance or training to future generations. If it be proved that the climate of any region has changed during historic times, it follows that the nature of the geographic provinces concerned must have been altered more or less. For example, among the human inhabitants of Central Asia, widespread poverty, want and depression have been substituted for comparative competence, prosperity and contentment. Disorders, wars, migrations have taken place. Race has been caused to mix with race under new physical conditions, which have given rise to new habits and character. The impulse towards change and migration received in the vast arid regions of Central Asia has spread outward, and involved all Europe in the confusion of the Dark Ages.—(From Huntington.)

CHAPTER IV

THE FAMILY

Primitive Marriage.—Among animals pairing is the general rule and is based upon instinct and biological necessity. Male jealousy forbids any second male to have relations with a female to whom a first male asserts a claim. Pairing also affords the offspring the care of both parents and therefore has great survival value. The prolonged infancy and helplessness of human offspring necessitate paternal support much more than in the case of animals. During the hunting stage food supply was scarce and uncertain, and man starved and gorged himself alternately. The state of alternate fasting and feasting, characteristic of the primitive horde while it struggled in the woods, led to an abnormal mental exhilaration. Thus, man and woman, under the excitement of periodical feasts, indulged not merely in choral music and dance, but also in sex promiscuity. As man in the pastoral stage secured a constant source of flesh and milk, the children were cared for better, while they proved an asset later in the fight for flocks and herds. Thus, woman, who formerly had been a booty after hunting expeditions and a drudge to carry weapons, was now a helpmate. Marriage by purchase gradually replaced marriage by capture, and the woman was wholly surrendered by her kinsmen and could cherish no hope of restoration to them. This involved change from the matriarchal to the patriarchal organisation of society. In many parts of India the matriarchal family—in which descent is reckoned through the female line—is still prevalent, *e.g.* among the Himalayan tribes and in Malabar and Cochin. Amongst the Tibetans and

Bhutias, when the eldest of the several brothers marries a woman, he takes her to live in the family house, and she is regarded as the common wife of them all. If one of the younger brothers marries he sets up a separate house of his own, and the brothers who are still younger may choose whether to follow him and share his wife or remain with the eldest brother. Fraternal polyandry prevails also amongst the Sudra castes of the Panjab hills, including Kulu. The system has been attributed to the poverty of the country and the desire to avoid large families. There is no scarcity of women either in Sikkim or Tibet. Religious zeal, again, encourages professed celibacy among the men, whilst superfluous women become nuns.

Pastoral Life and Marriage.—Frazer suggests that there is something in the pastoral life which favours the growth of abnormal relations between the sexes. The superstition which debars these people from a vegetable diet not only impoverishes them but also retards economic progress by presenting a serious obstacle to the adoption of agriculture. Moreover, it affects society by maintaining and perpetuating a type of marriage which effectively checks the growth of population and which can hardly fail to be injurious to the women and thereby to the offspring.

Jealousy as Affecting Marriage and Descent.—Polyandry results also from the general absence of marital jealousy among certain races and tribes. Thus, among the Khasis and Garos of Assam, which are communities governed by uterine descent, marital jealousy has prevented the development of polyandry. Among the Todas of the Nilgiris, on the other hand, who are wholly devoid of the feeling of marital jealousy, descent is through the male, and yet polyandry is allowed.

Amongst the Nairs of Malabar polyandry is no longer practised, at least openly, but they still trace their descent through the female. The Nairs in some

parts of Travancore and Cochin, the Izhavans, Kanyans and other castes in Cochin and elsewhere on the Malabar coast, and the Tolcolans of Malabar practise the matriarchal form of polyandry. The system of descent through sister's son prevails among various castes in South India, chiefly on the Malabar coast.

Monogamy and its Reactions in India.—Among the masses of the Indian people monogamy, however, is the rule enjoined by Scripture and consecrated by ancestor worship. The prevalence and sanctity of monogamy react upon other forms of marriage.

Over the greater part of the country female chastity has long been highly prized. The exceptional communities which were once immoral from our point of view are steadily becoming less so. The relations of the sexes among people in Malabar who trace descent through the female were formerly very loose, but sexual irregularities are becoming rare. Several castes of the Malabar coast who were polyandrous not many years ago are not so any longer. The Todas have exchanged the matriarchal for the fraternal form of polyandry. Even in Ladakh polyandry is beginning to be condemned. The Jats and Gujars of Upper India, who used to allow much freedom to a woman in her relations with her husband's brothers, are growing more particular. Among the aboriginal tribes pre-marital license, once the custom amongst them, is falling into disfavour. With some it has disappeared already; others are confining it more and more to the occasions of certain festivals.

Indian Joint Family.—Thus, there is a uniform and regular type of family life in India, viz. the monogamic family, the nucleus of a joint household, which is the foundation of the Indian economic structure. Socially speaking, it arranges marriages with reference to the transmission of property and of family faith and tradition to sons, and to the preservation of the integrity and continuity of the family group.

Half a century ago, nobody could think that the ancient joint family in India was foredoomed to failure. The family appeared to have reached its fixed and final form in the individual group of kinsmen who dwelt under the same roof, preserved a common hearth and common meals, offered a common sacrifice to the common ancestor and owned their property in common. Since the middle of the last century the institution has been attacked by so many disintegrating forces that it has now become plastic. The British Indian law established the seizable character of a coparcenary interest and carried the doctrine of a coparcener's right of alienating his share of the joint family property to extremes. Formerly the joint property was safe from individual waste or dissipation, because the law did not recognise a member's right to alienate in any way, nor could a creditor seize his share in the joint estate, which thus perpetuated the family faith and tradition, irrespectively of individual caprice. An interpretation of old texts and commentaries according to modern ideas has led also to the vesting of absolute proprietary rights in the father, which has overridden the consensus of the members of the old coparcenary community. Such changes in the law touching the joint family were encouraged by economic forces, but there cannot be any doubt that the decisions of courts of law have proved a solvent of the ancient joint family institution and usage.

Disintegration of Home Life in Indian Cities.—In the villages the economic collaboration of the members of the family in farmwork has stood for the solidarity of the family, but in the cities the machine has greatly limited women's opportunities for earning in the home. The decline of hand-spinning, which formerly made the housewife nearly equal to the husband as a support to the household, has affected the unity of the family. Not merely the slowly narrowing sphere of women's profitable employment in the home, but also the grow-

ing economic pressure, have made it harder to maintain the joint family. But these changes are from outside. More serious and fundamental are the forces which attack the family from the inside. The old idea of marriage as a sacrament has decayed with the spread of the new education. Thus, when the union becomes galling, religious sanction ceases to be as powerful a binder as before. Ideas of romantic passion and free matrimonial choice have come from the literature of the West, and rights instead of duties are uppermost in the mind. Thus, conjugal unhappiness is more common than it used to be. Domestic harmony, furthermore, is disturbed by the disparity between the education and social attitude of men and women. Thus, cases of incompatibility of temper are more frequent. The round of domestic fasts and festivals, story-telling and penance, which inculcated ideals of unselfish devotion and robust self-control among the women, has been almost extinguished in the cities. Vernacular journalism caters for the romantic and the sensational. The wife is discontented with the drudgery of homework and delegates it to servants. Thanks to the march of new ideas of comfort and respectability, women's participation in home life has declined. This reacts upon their mentality. The increasing number of cases of hysteria, insanity and suicide give evidence of the disastrous conflict of ideals of domestic life which now confronts the women of the middle class.

There is even a desire to lighten the burden of child-bearing, which is showing itself in the decline of the number of children in an average home in the cities. A growing love of ease thus is corroding the ancient virtues of sacrifice and forbearance on which a home of several children rested formerly.

Sex Disparity and Overcrowding in Town and City.—Nor is the home encouraged by industrialism in the mill towns and cities. There is a demand either for

male or for female labour. This brings about a disparity of the proportion of sexes as 2 (male) : 1 (female). The large cities consist of a floating immigrant population which has left its women behind in the native villages. There are only two females to every five male immigrants in Calcutta ; over two-thirds of the latter are actual workers, but only one-fourth of the females are actually engaged in any occupation. Prostitutes alone account for one-fourth of the female workers, and their number is equal to one-seventh of the women of adult age. Altogether only 15 per cent. of both sexes are under fifteen years of age. Half the women and two-thirds of the men are adults ; *i.e.* aged fifteen to forty ; and at this age-period there are three males to every female. Thus, industrialism and the chronic house famine separate the sexes just when normal marital life should begin. The labourers, who form more than 75 per cent. of the population of the cities, can afford but single rooms in slums and *chawls* ; while the lower middle classes live in flats, messes or partitioned houses, and do not ordinarily bring their families with them. An increasing proportion of young married people of the middle class in Calcutta and Bombay thus are compelled to choose a homeless, boarding-house life. An exaggerated spirit of individualism and love of comfort has led to the postponement of marriage or of family life amongst this class. Their standards of living have risen faster than their incomes, and this has operated against sound family life. But it is among the labouring classes that the maintenance of the home has been rendered most difficult as a result of house famine, the growth of tenements and the rise in land rents. In Bombay there are over 170,000 one-room tenements distributed among the *chawls*, which sometimes provide a common washing place on each floor, and sometimes a *nahani* or *mori* in each room. Out of a population of 1,200,000 nearly 892,000 occupy one-room tenements. The

average number of persons per room is 4.47. Persons living in five- or six-room tenements average 1.43 and 1.45 persons per room. In New York City labourers comprise 45 per cent. of the population, and more than 1.5 persons in a room is considered to be overcrowding. Obviously family life receives a serious set-back when real homes in the shape of whole houses are very rare, and for the great bulk of the people "home" means a single room inhabited usually by five and sometimes by as many as fifteen persons.

Indian Family—Considerations Affecting Reconstruction.—Apart from such unnatural conditions touching domestic life, which are but an incident of a transitional process in industrial development and which will disappear as the community realises the imperative need of solving the housing problem, the conflict of the contrasted ideals which affect the unity and stability of the family must be prevented or mitigated. On the one hand, the patriarchal joint family of ecclesiastical sanction has proved an obstacle to the realisation of personality and promoted idleness and economic stagnation. It has acted as a brake on individual initiative and enterprise, and, not having any lively sense of economic obligation, has not exercised adequate prudential control over the birth-rate, which outstrips the means of subsistence and comfort. On the other hand, the individualistic family, which has commended itself so much recently to the higher classes, however successful it has been as an economic institution, has proved unstable and mercurial. On account of the pressure of the conditions of living, there has been less desire for offspring, a decay of that sense of obligation and loyalty to the family centred round the children without which conjugal love can neither lead to a lasting and happy union nor realise its own highest possibilities. Nor is it certain that the individualistic type of family control is adapted to the needs of economic progress everywhere. Both in China and

India, where the pressure of the population on the soil is great and village sites are compact, families must tend to live in closer association than in the West. In India this is especially seen among Hindus, who tend to greater community in living than those whose traditions are less restrictive, and far greater than the Muhammadans who live much more individualistic lives throughout India. It has been pointed out that this is due not merely to the greater survival of ancient customs among rural communities, but also to the fact that the proprieties observed by all civilised races discountenance close association between persons who are not prevented from marriage by ties of relationship. Thus the existence of strict exogamous customs among high-caste Hindus permits a wider circle of relatives to live together than would be possible among peoples where even close relationship is no bar to marriage. In contrast to the West, the social tradition through the *taboo* has prevented in India the evils of close association in one group of buildings.

Indian Family in Transition.—Not merely the force of social tradition but also economic convenience still continues joint ownership in the forms and conditions of agricultural tenure and joint endeavour in agriculture as well as business. It is true that the cities show the highest water-mark of the disruptive tendencies that break up the family; nevertheless the break-up of families is observed to occur more in agricultural than in non-agricultural communities. Indeed, among trading classes, the existence of established business firms controlled entirely by the family has still further aided the survival of the ancient system; although, of course, among these old family firms the ties are beginning to change from those of a joint family, whose property and earnings are common and subject to the control of the head of the family, to those of mere partnership, where the capital is held in shares and the profits are subject to periodical distribution. It

might be noted that in towns, where the cost of living and high rent prevent easy separations, the tendency has been manifest towards a common messing and monthly division of expenditure while the individual earnings are kept separate. These changes surrounding our life encourage us to believe that our family is not really disintegrating but that we are witnessing the transition to a nobler family. We shall in future see no more of the autocracy of the head of the family which suppresses the legitimate individuality of a family member, or of the husband's overbearing dominance and the wife's shrinking subservience which now masquerade behind the apologetic doctrine of *Satihood*. Nor again will the ideal of fidelity remain one-sided, a male code of domestic ethics, which forgets or minimises the significance of man's chastity. The family of the future will emerge out of the wedlock of the above-contrasted ideals; but no noble family can arise on an economic edifice so cramped and narrow as that which exists. It is therefore not unreasonable to assume that the characteristic phenomena attending the transition from the old type of family will be more and more witnessed till there is a radical change in the industrial and economic *mores*. Its effects will percolate society from below upwards as well as from above downwards and these will be disastrous for the solidarity of existing society; for the family is basic to the building of social character, being the primary social group in which there is developed that discipline and mutual forbearance which are the indispensable requisites of group life.

Indian Sexual Code and its Revision.—Much may be done by inculcating among the youth of both sexes healthy ideals of love and marriage. No doubt it would be well if young people were taught that marriage without love is a mockery, that sex-love is naturally unstable and sometimes morbid, and that conjugal harmony is woven by the threads of attach-

ment, respect and sense of duty, all knit together. Such ideals must be fixed in the new social tradition, for the old tradition of the religious patriarchal family is fast decaying. Similarly, the new conditions of employment and labour demand a change in the conventions that ruled the intercourse between the sexes in family and outside. Mixed labour in the factories and a freer intercourse between man and woman in the upper strata now equally demand a modification of our old sexual code. The social atmosphere in certain provinces and communities, especially where the *purdah* prevails, is clouded with sex obsession, which bedims the sense of duty, and tends to regard sex attraction as the only bond of marriage and family. On the other hand, there has survived by its side a sense that the original equipment of impulses and instincts is something base and brutish. This notion, which is contrary to the great teaching of the *Tantra*, has revelled in the mortification of the flesh, the inhibition of natural appetites, and has led to undue and chronic nervous strain or the surging forth of the repressed desires in secret or open rebellion. The ascetic frenzy has passed, but the new tradition of a healthy, abundant sex-life has not yet evolved. India has built up a rich tradition of sanity in sex, and this now must be marshalled for individuals of every degree of education and social level, so that the present phase of family and marriage in degeneration may give place quickly to a new type of family and of marriage.

NOTES

Early Marriage.—The number of males and females in India who are married by the age of twenty is 9 and 25 per cent., respectively, of the population of each sex up to that age. In Italy, the corresponding proportions are rather less than 1 in 1,000 for males and rather more than 1 in 100 for females. The proportions are considerably less

in Western Europe but greater in the Balkans and Russia. In the latter country, 1 male in 120 below twenty years and 1 female in 38 were married according to the figures of the census of 1897. The marriage of girls at an age when they are still children is a custom common among the Hindus, and in other communities their marriage at or soon after puberty is practically universal. Mr. Thompson calculates on the basis of the age tables that the average age of marriage in Bengal is about $12\frac{1}{2}$ for girls and rather under 20 for men. The custom of child marriage, *i.e.* marriage before the age of ten, is most prevalent in Bihar and Orissa, Bombay, Baroda, the Central India tract and Hyderabad. It is rare in Assam, Burma, the North-West Frontier Province and the States of Southern India. It is not exclusively a Hindu custom, and of the Hindus who are most addicted to the practice it is among the lower rather than the higher castes that the custom is observed most rigidly. The practical outcome of child marriage is twofold: (1) it results in grave physical effects upon the girl and in all the evils of premature child-birth; ¹ and (2)

¹ "Every one is aware of the consequences of sexual excess, the weakness of mind and body which results, and the extreme slowness with which restoration comes, if indeed it comes at all. Many people seem to think that such excess is only harmful if unlawful, forgetting the fearful strain upon the constitution of a delicate girl of 14 years or even less which results from the thoughtless incontinence of the newly-married boy or, still more, the pitiless incontinence of the remarried man. Serious as these causes of strain are upon the health of the young married girl they sink into insignificance in comparison with the stress of maternity which follows. It is a truism to say that the process connected with reproduction, which from one point of view may be regarded as the most important of human functions, should be allowed to take place under the most favourable conditions possible. Surely it would seem to be of fundamental importance that these processes should be delayed until not only the special organs concerned, but also the body as a whole, shall have attained their full development and be prepared for this great crisis. For in no other crisis of life does the ultimate result depend so much upon the physical condition of the body. In this connection we have of course to think of the nourishment of the child after birth, as well as of pregnancy and child-birth. Nevertheless, custom is allowed to carry the day, and to dictate that all this strain shall be deliberately imposed upon girls at a period when it is obvious that their bodies are not as yet capable of enduring it with safety. It is of course argued that a warm climate favours precocity and that girls in India develop at an earlier age than in more temperate climates. Let even so much as two years be conceded, and in place of 18 years, which may be reckoned as the lower limiting age in ordinary cases of marriage in the West, let 16 years be the age which popular opinion shall regard as the normal one for marriage in this country. The result would be an incalculable gain in the health of the women of India and also in that of the children whom they bear. In place of this, what do we find? With

in the event of the husband dying the child-wife, in the castes in which the remarriage of widows is prohibited, is left a widow for life. In the States of Baroda and Mysore early marriage is the subject of State legislation. The Law in Baroda (Infant Marriages Prevention Law of 1904) defines the age at which marriage is permissible—twelve years for girls and sixteen years for boys. Exceptions are granted in the case of girls between the age of nine and twelve in special cases, and in the case of the Kadwa Kanbi community, who are accustomed to hold periodical mass marriages, the age has been lowered to six for girls and eight for boys. The Act has been enforced more strictly during the decade and the numbers of convictions under it average about 4,050 per annum.¹ It is difficult to gauge to what extent this statutory sanction contributes to the fall in the number of infant marriages, but the indirect effect on public opinion of a definite attitude of the State towards the practice cannot but be beneficial. In Mysore the Infant Marriages Prevention Regulation of 1894 prohibits the marriage of a girl under 8 years of age, as well as the marriage of a man of fifty or over with a girl under fourteen. The Act has been administered with considerable leniency during the decade, only eighty-six persons having been convicted under it, and the Census Superintendent evidently doubts whether the Act has had any practical influence on the statistics.

Widow Marriage.—The proportion of widows in India in

thankful acknowledgment of the success which has met the efforts of those who have already done so much in this direction, 14 years is yet the upper limit of age for marriage in very many parts of India, which in multitudes of cases takes place at 13, or even 12 years. Well were it for these children if maternity, when it came, were accompanied by a minimum of risk and a maximum of loving care. But, alas, the reverse is too often the case." —(Lankester: *Tuberculosis in India*.—p. 147.)

¹ The Baroda State has passed an Act for the compulsory registration of marriages and divorces in order to minimise legal difficulties. The Act is not intended to affect social or religious customs or rites of any kind. According to the new law, marriages and divorces must be registered within a fortnight of the occurrence and the responsibility of registration rests with the parent of the bride or her guardian, or the bridegroom. A certificate will not make a marriage or a divorce valid if it be not valid according to law. The Registrar is not to consider the legality of a marriage, except in the case of Muhammadans. Parties not registering marriages are liable to prosecution and can be fined not more than Rs. 10.

comparison with the figures for England and Wales is given below :

Proportion of Widows in the Population per 1,000.

Age.	India, 1921.	England and Wales, 1911.
All ages	175·0	73·2
0-5	·7	—
5-10	4·5	—
10-15	16·8	—
15-20	41·4	—
20-25	71·5	1·5
25-35	146·9	13·1
35-45	325·2	50·5
45-65	619·4	193·3
65 and over	834·0	565·9

The large number of Indian widows is due partly to the early age of marriage, partly to the disparity in the ages of the husbands and wives, but chiefly to the prejudice against the remarriage of widows. The higher castes of Hindus forbid it altogether and, the custom being held a mark of social respectability, many of the more ambitious of the lower castes have adopted it by way of raising their social status, while Muhammadans who are brought closely into touch with their Hindu neighbours are apt to share the prejudice. There is some reason to suppose that the restriction in widow remarriage is actually increasing among the classes in the lower ranks of the social scale and is likely still further to increase. The custom is one which, more than any other, is associated with Hindu orthodoxy, and it is in consequence one of the first to be adopted by an ambitious community which is attempting to better its social condition. To imitate the customs of the highest classes is to acquire some increase of tone and respectability; and this desire to better their status which, as the country develops, is gaining in extent and intensity, especially among the depressed classes and the aboriginal tribes, finds its first expression in an assumption

of the most characteristic and imposing traditions of the twice-born castes. From an interesting comparison of the age curves of widows of Hindus and Muhammadans respectively, Mr. Thompson (Bengal) is able to deduce the approximate statistics of the proportion of Muhammadan widows in Bengal who marry again. The figures which are given below are naturally rough, but they probably represent the first estimate of the kind that has been made and they indicate that the proportion of widows in the Muhammadan community who find second husbands is, in Bengal, at any rate, extremely high.

Number per 1,000 Muhammadan Females.

Age	Living as Widows.	Living as Wives of Second Husbands.
0-5	1	0
5-10	4	0
10-15	18	10
15-20	41	40
20-25	61	70
25-30	105	115
30-35	196	125
35-40	321	60

Study of the Indian Family.—The following outline for a study of the family may be suggested :

1. *Family Location.*—Genealogical tree as retained in family history. Geographical distribution and movement of members of small family group and of large family group. Different branches in different locations. Stability or mobility of the family in relation to joint endeavour in agriculture or trade, and to government or mercantile service. Its urban or rural residence. Relation between the country home and the city home. Effects of cost of living and high rent in cities on family separation. Industrialism and house famine as separating the sexes.

2. *Family Tradition*.—Family faith and worship, family priest; domestic fasts, penance and festivals; family story-telling embodying family romance and personal beauty; family ritual as *Shraddha*; family unity. Individual or family choice in marriages. *Satihood*. Effects of the disparity of education between man and woman on conjugal life.

3. *Family Art and Economics*.—Division of labour among members of the family. Woman's decorative art. Floor drawing, hair-dressing, embroidery work, etc. Woman's independent sphere. Hand-spinning. Needlework. *Streedhana*. Effects of the slowly diminishing scope of woman's profitable employment in the home. An unattached or disattached womanhood or widowhood without a healthy and secure subsistence. Effects of employment on women. Mixed labour in factories. Irregular employment of domestic servants. Rise in the standard of comfort and decline of birth-rate. House management.

4. *Family Organisation*.—Typical forms of control and subordination. The *Mitakshara*, the *Dayabhaga* and modern court decisions, their effects on the management of the joint family property and the respective duties and rights of the *karta* and the members of the family. Family *esprit de corps*. Family status in the *gotra*, the brotherhood and the community. Charges on family patrimony for public works among Brahmans. Family property in relation to the poorer members of the same clan.

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL GRADATION

Class and Caste in India.—Social layers form themselves in society usually as a result of conquest. In India from very long ages there was a division of population into Arya, noble or twice-born, and Anarya or Sudra. This division was due to the process of conquest. The Aryas themselves were divided into three classes—Brahmans, Kshattriya and Vaisya. This sort of social stratification arose out of a process within society, and is to be found in both ancient and modern times. Thus in Japan there were the court nobility ; the military class, *daimyos* and *samurai* ; third, the common people or *heimin*. But there is another kind of social division, that of caste, which has grown up gradually as the result of both the above processes and is characterised by a spirit of segregation manifesting itself in different ways in different places and among different communities. A caste is described as an endogamous group, or collection of such groups bearing a common name and having the same traditional occupation, who are so linked together by these and other ties, such as the tradition of a common origin and the possession of the same tutelary deity, and the same status, ceremonial observances and family priests, that they regard themselves, and are regarded by others, as forming a single homogeneous community.

Bases of Caste.—The caste at first sight appears to be fixed and immobile, but on close examination it is found to be plastic and fluent. This is especially the case in groups which exhibit community of function or occupation, as most castes do in Northern India. The conquerors reserved for themselves the higher

occupations, as priests, land-holders, warriors and traders ; leaving the less developed and more primitive occupations to the original inhabitants, such as hunting, fishing, basket-making, scavenging and agricultural labour. In the higher occupations we find the communities of pure or nearly pure Aryan stock. Handicrafts and other intermediate occupations were followed by the mixed stocks, who were in closer contact with the conquerors than the pure aboriginal stocks. This species of social gradation of conquerors and conquered, according to the higher and dignified and lower and primitive occupations, is by no means singular in India. The conquerors also had to take women from the inferior race, but a certain pride of colour remained in them ; so that, in order to avert complete amalgamation, they did not give their own women and closed their ranks to further intermixture as soon as their number had increased to the point where the dangers of endogamy were not present. With the establishment of this principle, another factor was added to the economic for the formation of castes, and the sanctions of religion were obtained to give rigidity and fixity to the gradation of society on such bases.

Caste Evolution, Gradual and Complex.—In the great plains of Northern India, however, it proved difficult to maintain purity of blood or to lay stress on the colour and race elements apparent in the orthodox scheme of classes. Here was the scene of the historic conflicts between the new-comers and the thoroughbreds of the soil. Consequently it was here that the ancient hierarchy of castes completely disappeared. In the village communities fringing the rivers ethnic disparity was subordinated to economic solidarity and a strong priestly or landlord class was absent. Thus function became the chief foundation upon which the whole caste system was here built up. From the data of tribes and castes in the Indo-Gangetic plains, Nesfield has suggested the theory accordingly that caste is

based solely on occupation, and that the order of the group is determined by the principle that each caste or group of castes represents one or other of those progressive stages of culture which have marked the industrial development of mankind, not only in India but also in every other country in the world wherein some advance has been made from primeval savagery to the arts and industries of civilised life. Indeed, if we classify the castes of the United Provinces according to the order of social precedence, we will find that the rank of any caste as high or low depends upon whether the industry represented by the caste belongs to an advanced or backward stage of culture, and thus economic history affords the chief clue to the gradation as well as to the formation of castes. It was otherwise in Bengal, for instance, and in the South. There function was not the sole factor in the formation of castes. The need of maintaining race purity was especially emphasised by the presence in society of heterogeneous and backward ethnic elements. The ancient law of *anulom* and *pratilom* marriages as given in Manu was strictly adhered to, and so the formation of castes and sub-castes proceeded apace, the caste in each case standing for purity of blood, and a correspondence accordingly being traceable between caste gradations and the variations of physical type. It was thus in the Madras Presidency in particular, where race and colour prejudices were inextricably woven into the texture of castes, that strange and inconvenient practices of segregation grew up. Caste has assumed its harshest aspects wherever the racial elements have withstood assimilation; but in the peaceful evolution of village communal life in the fertile river valleys, where an increasing pressure of population on the soil and the contact of peoples for centuries directly encourage social cohesiveness, one caste shades into another as does function or occupation. The degree of this intermixture of race and

fusion of function is different in different regions ; and thus the complex web of Indian life has been woven neither by pride of blood nor by community of occupation, neither by Brahmanical authority nor by the natural forces of an economic uplift, though one or other factor might have dominated in any one province or community. The evolution of castes, like the evolution of all social institutions, is a gradual and complex process. Many factors have worked together to produce this institution ; and in each province or community these might have been different and are by no means reducible to a single process or formula. But the forces which lie dormant in every order of social groups, not only in India but also everywhere else, and which may be deflected by the colour element and racial antagonism, are economic. These are fundamental, and whenever they rise to the surface we find caste gradation as the product of economic movement and consequent social differentiation which are marked in all societies, and which everywhere give rise to well-marked social classes.

Tribal and Sectarian Castes.—There is, of course, a steady but imperceptible process of change of the limits and frontiers of castes, though the upper strata are elaborately and deliberately stereotyped. Even here aboriginal priests often obtain recognition as Brahmans, and aboriginal chieftains as Kshattriyas. This is the origin of what are designated as the tribal castes of India, as, for instance, the Bhumij of Chota Nagpur, the Ahir, the Dom and the Dosadh of Northern India or the Mahar of Western India who insensibly have been transformed into castes by modifying their religious rites and practices more and more in the direction of Hinduism and accepting some of its social prohibitions and injunctions. Similarly the Rajputs, the Mahrattas and the Jats are instances of castes of tribal if not national type, whose ancient tribal organisation is but imperfectly assimilated into the

Brahmanical ideas of caste. In a similar way, as new religions have arisen or new social customs have been accepted by communities, they have formed themselves into separate sub-castes outside the pale of orthodox Brahmanism. Such, for instance, are the sectarian castes, as the Jati Vaishnavs of Bengal, the Lingayats of Bombay and the Sarakas of Orissa, who at first were merely the adherents of a sect, but in course of time came to recognise the bond thus created between them as stronger than any other and so formed a new marriage union. In South India most of the converts to Jainism have forgotten their old social divisions and now intermarry among themselves only, and so what was once a religion has become a caste. Among the social usages which at the present day are the most important influence in bringing about elevations or depressions of social status which may result ultimately in the formation of new castes, is the practice of widow marriage.

Occupational Castes and their Fluctuations.—Leaving aside these castes which are more or less of higher standing, when we consider the immense array of lower castes, we find that the names of many of them indicate occupation. Community of occupation here has formed the basis of caste division. In the ordinary occupations we find that, when members of one caste take to the occupation of another, both communities occupy more or less the same social status and coalesce later in the same caste with the same social and religious observances. As peasants, artisans and traders rise in the economic scale, in every upward step there is ramification of the caste into groups, marking the ascent of the social ladder.

Caste and the "Open Door."—It is especially characteristic how many of the lower castes have taken to agriculture and, despising their former occupation, have separated themselves from those who still follow it. In some cases the adoption of a degrading occupa-

tion by certain families has spelt social disaster for that section, and, though still retaining the caste name, they are compelled to marry amongst themselves and thus form a sub-caste. In other instances the converse is the case, and a group that abandons a disreputable occupation or commands social respect by the adoption of the customs (and restrictions) of higher castes itself attains in time to higher social grade. But the higher castes do not show these dynamic tendencies to the same extent. These rest upon a theory of heredity which is too empirical. It is true that the leisured class in India is not largely founded on grants of land from the State nor aided by a system of primogeniture and entail as in mediæval Europe; nor is it based so much on hereditary wealth, which is an affront to the natural sense of justice. Still, intellectual eminence cannot be entailed as can a fortune. Thus, the rise of the new intellectuals already has threatened the position of the high-born priding themselves on the possession of the sacred lore and skill which the pushful class has had no time to acquire. In the new gradation which is now in process in India, we must not, however, lose sight of the great social value attached in India to learning and character in the past. It was not seldom that learning opened the door to the highest rank in society irrespectively of birth and wealth. The saint, the founder of a religious order, might be a *pariah*, but he was a privileged person above all conventional distinctions. Again, there was recognised a code of dignified self-effacing manners and a high moral standard, the violations of which would mean ostracism. When social respectability shifts to the wealth and learning of the new bourgeois we must emphasise this asset of the old social gradation. But the stigma on manual labour which has paralysed Indian civilisation, must go. The elemental instinct of workmanship must be prized in every man. The masses who feel themselves

degraded by their work have to learn the dignity of labour. The high-born must acquire a new sense of the sacredness of manual labour, so that work can become worship and man soar highest in thought whilst living the plain life of the humble toiler. In a healthy society we thus will find that character, learning and work offer free entry to the highest social class and that impersonal differences in respect to both employment and wealth cease to be the criteria of social gradation. Above all, sympathy will not be restricted to the family and class, but will extend up and down in society to every man, *pariah* or prince, on the basis of his infinite worth, so that every one can live the common distributive life in mutual love and respect.

Future of Caste.—That caste narrows the circle of human sympathy is obvious. On the other hand, it must be recognised that caste has shown an extraordinary power of self-direction and self-management for the common good. The question of the future of the caste resolves itself into the consideration whether it can maintain its old functional initiative and collective action, and at the same time be compatible with the spirit of humanity and the new demands of a larger national life.

The Indian social institutions are not so rigid and inelastic as they are often supposed to be. The family has adapted itself to various environments and absorbed every principle that sunders, assuming various forms and showing greater or less degree of the joint constitution and joint endeavour in agriculture, trade and industry. The village community, formerly based on family ties, likewise has assimilated new elements in its constitution and grounded itself on neighbourhood associations and economic interests which no longer exclude the stranger. The caste, whose rigidity is the inevitable result of the forces of disruption in a society which has well-nigh lost its collective will and capacity and yet has to solve the

problem presented by the presence of diverse stocks and races, also has shown a considerable degree of plasticity. The formation of sub-castes by adaptation to new social and economic changes—as a result of an upward economic movement and consequent social differentiation—indicates the dynamic tendencies which operate on the caste organisation. In the case of the higher castes, the Brahmans, the Kayasthas, Varnias, Vaidyas, etc., where function has ceased to be the dominating factor, the tendencies towards the formation of new social groupings are especially strong. This has produced a more liberal outlook, which has been especially encouraged by Western education, from which these castes have profited most. Thus, they have assimilated with ease the new nationality idea. The artisan castes proper as easily have absorbed groups dissimilar in ethnic origin or domicile, and even have expanded into federations on the basis of community of occupation or trade. In this respect these functional castes differ from forms of association like the village community, which are based on contiguity, personal association and the common ties of humanity, and resemble the artisan, business and professional classes of the West. In the countries of the West, the classes have never set up so effective and complete an organisation as to supersede the State with respect to the loyalty of individuals. Socialism, founded on an effort to create an organisation based on “class consciousness,” has never created more than a political party nor superseded nationalism. In a similar way, the caste in India may relinquish its old-time exclusiveness and absorb the nationality idea. Indeed, through the intermingling of diverse interests and functions, caste may be assimilated into the substance of a new type of polity, which ultimately may solve the most difficult problem that modern democracy is faced with—the problem of minority and interest representation. Democracy must not be confounded

with the rule of the majority. The rule of all, not of a majority, and certainly not of a class, is the essence of democracy. We see to-day governments which in the name of democracy have established what is virtually a class dictatorship over the rest of the community. John Stuart Mill long ago distinguished between the false and true democracy. He says : " The pure idea of democracy, according to its definition, is the government of the whole people equally represented. Democracy, as commonly conceived and hitherto practised, is the government of the whole people by a mere majority of the people, exclusively represented. The former is synonymous with the equality of all citizens ; the latter, strangely confounded with it, is a government of the privileged in favour of the numerical majority, who alone possess practically any voice in the State. This is the inevitable consequence of the manner in which the votes are now taken, to the complete disfranchisement of minorities." One of the great problems of India is to liberalise communities and castes so that these might serve as bases of representation of interests and functions while at the same time remaining loyal to the demands of the larger national life.

NOTES

The Depressed Classes.—The following statement gives a rough estimate of the minimum numbers which may be considered to form the "depressed classes" of the Hindu community :

Depressed Classes (ooo's omitted).

Assam	2,000	Baroda	177
Bengal	9,000	Central India ..	1,140
Bihar and Orissa	8,000	Gwalior	500
Bombay	2,800	Hyderabad	2,339
C.P. and Berar	3,300	Mysore	932
Madras	6,372	Rajputana	2,267
Panjab	2,893	Travancore	1,260
United Provinces	9,000	Total	52,680

The total of these provincial figures approaches 53 millions. This, however, must be taken as a conservative estimate, since it does not include (1) the full strength of the castes and tribes concerned, and (2) the tribal aborigines more recently absorbed in Hinduism, many of whom are considered impure. We may confidently place the numbers of these depressed classes, all of whom are considered impure, at something between 55 and 60 millions in India proper. Of the degree and nature of their impurity it is not necessary to speak here. It varies in different tracts and is most conspicuous in Southern India, where, perhaps owing to more settled political conditions, orthodox Hindu sentiment has been able to develop an intensity of social differentiation which the more complex conditions in Northern India would tend somewhat to modify. In many parts of the country the tribal aborigines, *e.g.* Gonds, Korkus, Bhils, etc., are not considered "untouchable" by caste Hindus, since they are recognised as being definitely outside the pale of Hinduism. Chuhras, Chamars and Mahars, however, are "untouchable"; and this distinction betokens for them a kind of negative footing as quasi-Hindus. A Mahar writing in a modern journal remarks: "There is hardly any record of the Mahars ever having been initiated as Hindus, it being a mere generosity of the latter to allow the former to call themselves Hindus."

Caste and Nationality.—The following summary from the Baroda Census Report, 1921, is illuminative as showing the social forces which make for change:

Even though at any given moment caste may appear to be stationary, it is not so inexorable to change as its seeming rigidity and its apparent injustice would lead one to expect. The formation of sub-castes—and the ease with which they are formed—are an indication of the dynamical tendencies operating on this ancient institution. The sub-castes, particularly in the occupation groups, are very unstable. The common interests which the needs of the occupation create and enforce certainly make for union. In this State, the occupational groups form the largest portion of Hindu castes. The tribal and racial castes only form 35 per cent. of the total. Function is so strong a welding factor that sections dissimilar in their

ethnic origin or domicile have tended to unite under its influence. The fissiparous tendencies also in a way help, though it may seem a paradox, in the movement towards unity. Caste influence is disorganised and weakened through this process. And there is no stronger obstacle to the nationality principle than caste unity. The nationality idea in Western Europe was developed not a little by the delocalisation of individuals through the breakdown of craft guilds. It may be that these forces in India also will throw the individual back on himself and his own resources. Caste has hitherto served as a most effective defensive weapon to the Indian, whose social will and collective capacity for action have been weakened and rendered inert through centuries. It is remarkable that these fissiparous tendencies are most evident in groups wherein function has ceased to weigh as a factor of any importance, like the Brahmans, Varnias, Kanbis, etc. Occupational castes, on the other hand, like artisan groups, etc., show greater tendencies towards consolidation. In the former case intellectualist tendencies are speeding towards the nationality idea. In the latter the unity of occupation is a sufficient warrant for bringing together dissimilar units within a group. Old territorial names like Sorathia, Parajia, Maru, Mewada, Konkani, Limachia, Vadnagara, Deshawal, Deshastha, etc., are giving place, under the impress of modern ideas, surely and inevitably to broader and wider designations, like Gujrati, Deccani, Hindustani, etc. Everywhere, the changes are in the direction of harmonisation of differences. Untouchability, if it still takes hard to die, will surely disappear as soon as the Antyajias (untouchables) themselves take to cleanly living. It has been pointed out that this "don't-touchistic" phase of caste is the result of the idea of spirit emanation so common to all early societies.¹ I would not go so far as to suggest that this idea of spirit community or magic is at the root of caste. But certainly the virulent separatist aspects of caste are the gift of Animism, along with its hideous gods, to Hindu society. With the movement towards a purer and more spiritual conception of Hinduism, there is little doubt that these alien excrescences will be shed.

¹ *Vide* R. N. Gilchrist : *Indian Nationality*, p.119.

It is not true to say that the Hindu political synthesis has never been familiar with the principle of nationality even in germ. In this Report we cannot however enter into this controversy; but it will suffice to state that religious movements associated with the Aryan Brahman tended to divide and sub-divide, while the religion of the Kshattriyas, like the Jaina and the Buddha faiths, tended to unite and consolidate. In the chapter on Language, reference was made to the Aryan Kshattriyas of the Outer Band who were consecrated to empire-states, and to Rishikul of the Madhyadesa who were wedded to little kingdoms. With the definite subjugation of Jainism and the extermination of the Buddha's faith, caste was re-enthroned on the basis of Brahmanical ascendancy. Through centuries it was worked out into its present elaborate network with the ingenuity of the Brahman intellect. It enveloped the average life of the individual. It supplied his every need. It resisted the intrusion of the foreigner by setting up such a complete organisation of an *imperium in imperio* that it made the alien's presence bearable for centuries and rendered any national movement unnecessary. It sought instruments from every quarter, not disdaining ideas even from the rude aborigines, to reinforce its sanctions. It absorbed every principle that divided. It adapted itself to all environments. But when, with British connection, Western education was introduced into this country, it met its most formidable opponent. Its bases have now been undermined. The new influences not only have restored nationality but have also invested it with the democratic principle, which was foreign to the spirit of caste government. Whether in the future, in an era of new opportunities, caste will adapt itself to these conditions and be content to remain, as it were, the "election agent" of the new democracy, it remains to be seen. But it may also be that caste, which has adapted so many ideas to its service, will absorb the nationality idea as well,

PART II

CIVIC INSTITUTIONS AND MACHINERY

CHAPTER VI

THE STATE

Family, Horde and Tribe.—From very early times man felt the need of security of life and property. For this formerly he had to depend on the family organisation. Thus, as the family became closely integrated, man could obtain greater peace and safety. From the natural defensive group of brothers and sisters, aiding one another in obtaining food and in redressing wrongs inflicted by other groups, to the matriarchal family where the mother is the controlling authority, the household has seen the beginnings of law and government. Formerly the group had to have the same totem, to come within its rules of exogamy and endogamy and to share its protection. In this way several households form a horde, and the hordes enter into a union called the tribe. In each expansion the tradition of protection becomes more extended or diversified when the stealing of women or primitive barter introduces new traditions of toleration.

Causes of Group-union.—The causes which bring together hordes into close and permanent union are the influences of the climate and the physical surface of the earth or the pressure of enemies. Thus, wandering along a river in pursuit of fish and game, hordes came to live in closer proximity than was formerly the case. Mountains often stem the tide of migrations and cause men to live more densely on the slopes or

in the valleys. Similarly, where flood and storms prevail, men seek shelter in caves where early associations are formed.

War a Step to Civil Government.—But the chief cause of the consolidation of groups is the contact with rival groups. War has destroyed the less closely-knit individuals, hordes and tribes. Thus war has tamed the savage people and made them value discipline. To obey the strong was an invaluable step in success in fight. Through war man has learnt also not to abuse the weak. Thus, war has prepared the savage people for civil government.

Patriarchism to Feudalism.—When the tribe comes to reckon its descent through the father the chances for its success in conflict improve considerably. Individual valour is rewarded with an immense accession of authority; hereditary chieftainship, which is itself favourable to consolidation, is supported by the religious system of ancestor worship uniting both the living and the dead in a consecration of all to ancient tradition and custom. A tribal chief gradually develops into a feudal chief by distributing the spoils of conquest among his followers on the condition that loyalty is the first step towards the possession of land thus expropriated from the conquered and other privileges.

Modern State Evolved from Feudalism.—All historical peoples have passed not merely through a high degree of ethnic life but also through the stage of feudalism before they emerged into the modern State. Gradually the rights of families and tribes, of feudal chiefs and retainers, gave way to the rights of the individuals and to the liberties of all.

King and Counsellors.—Formerly the chief or leader was the commander-in-chief in war, the law-making authority in times of peace and also the high priest of the people. But gradually there came about a change in his office and functions. The king found that he

could not do anything without advisers. It became the custom to summon old men in the tribe to take counsel with the king. Thus counsellors became the senate, an institution which still survives in many a modern constitution. Formerly, the king wished to judge all cases of dispute. He soon found that to do justice demanded more time than he could afford. He therefore appointed people to represent him. And even now judges are appointed in the name of the king and as his representatives, and try all cases, though the king still retains his power of final adjudication.

Political Evolution—The State.—If now we attempt to tabulate the typical constructions of political life we get something like the following : (1) Origins in totemistic rules and regulations ; (2) Tribal government ; (3) The village commune and the free city, where the bonds are no longer the ties of blood, real or fictitious, but a new common principle, the communal possession of land ; (4) Mediæval State in different aspects as Feudal and Theocratic State ; (5) Individualistic State and class government ; (6) Tentative experiments in Communalistic State and functional government. In the East, as well as in the mediæval period in Western Europe, the city takes its origin in a combination of the village community with the myriad guilds, brotherhoods and associations which were constituted outside and independently of the State. The feudal polity, based on the economy of the manor, developed out of the ceaseless migration and conflict of tribes and peoples—Celtic, Germanic, Slav and Scandinavian—in Western Europe. The absolute monarchy in Western Europe was an overgrown Feudal State. It was gradually superseded by the constitutional monarchy and the democracy. The sovereignty of the people was secured with difficulty and at times not without bloody revolutions. In China the paternal family grew up and became the type and symbol of the State—the ruler, though

clothed with divine right, was subservient to the code of righteousness which the elders or the intellectuals interpreted and applied both in China and India. Throughout the East the theocratic system of Brahmanism, of Islam, of the Talmud, and the oligarchic system of the Chinese intellectuals, started from mankind and embraced within their fields multifarious customaries evolving an order of social justice in which the diverse and even antagonistic elements met in concord and in compromise. In the East the intermediate groups and voluntary associations, such as the family and the clan, the artisans', the traders', and the merchants' guilds, or again, the professional brotherhoods or the non-local societies, are at first self-governing and self-sufficient. In the absence of disintegrating forces which lead to rigidity and crystallisation, they are gradually organised within the life of the community as a whole by functional differentiation as well as integration. Integration in social and political development has gone on constantly in the East, so far as the groups are concerned, while, on the other hand, there has been a constant differentiation of powers and functions of the relations of individuals to the groups. The solidarity of Eastern society, which has been the outcome of an interweaving of divergent interests in the congeries of assemblies and unions, has prevented the rise and development of organised political classes, identifying themselves with exclusive economic interests. This has prevented one of the great abuses of the modern State which articulates more or less the particular interests or ideals of an exclusive class in society. Another abuse which results from the all-embracing centralised authority of the modern State is avoided by a thorough decentralisation. In the West the absolute central authority of the king developed out of the collapse of feudalism, nourished itself by obstructing local initiative and crushing local liberties

and privileges. The vitality and large autonomy enjoyed by local and functional groups in the East and the strength of the principle of federalism and co-ordination are, on the other hand, the great merits of Eastern political evolution. And, indeed, the recent reaction against class rule and centralised government and the construction of society upon a non-State basis characteristic of recent political experiments in the West, show that the future will be built out of many of the germs now embedded and obscured in the Eastern political fabric.

NOTES

History of the Village.—In the history of social evolution, we find that the village at first was bound by a real and then a fictitious tie of brotherhood ; the bond of common economic interest then suppressed the older ties, but did not supersede the older feeling. This has been the case in Russia, China and India. In England and in France the old Teutonic village community gave place to the mediæval manor as a result of Norman conquest or of Frankish or Norse occupation, but this after a long and bitter conflict. In other countries the superimposition of Roman feudality disintegrated the natural and long-established communalism. Thus grew up in Europe extensive lordships of the emperor, of senatorial magnates and of central cities which by the steam-roller of centralisation levelled down the village community beyond recognition. Oppenheimer has shown that the free peasantry of Germany were put through the process of expropriation and declassification at least three times. Where the sovereign powers of the State are delegated to the territorial magnate, the overthrow of the liberties of the peasants is carried out, at least in part, under the colour of law, by forcing excessive military services, which ruin the peasants, and which are required the more often as the dynastic interests of the territorial lord require new lands and new peasants, or by abusing the rights to compulsory labour, or by turning the

administration of public justice into military oppression. The common freeman, however, receives the final blow either by the formal delegation or by the usurpation of the most important powers of the crown, the disposition of unoccupied lands or "commons" which originally belonged to all the "folk," *i.e.*, to the freemen, for common use. Universal history is monotonous and the same procedure overthrew the village community in many lands. Thus, along with the loss of economic and political autonomy of the village, the communal habits and traditions were swept away. Kropotkin denies that the village communities died a natural death. He says: "The village communities had lived for over a thousand years; and where and when the peasants were not ruined by wars and exactions they steadily improved their methods of culture. But, as the value of land was increasing in consequence of the growth of industries, and the nobility had acquired under the state organisation a power which it never had under the feudal system, it took possession of the best parts of the communal lands." Thus, landlordism often became the prevailing element. As Miss Irvine observes: "Even in the Middle Ages the landlord of Western Europe had the position of owner of common lands, and of such common conveniences as the mill, the oven, and the winepress. The tenants were regarded only as usufructuaries of the wood and the waste, and paid him fees for their compulsory use of his mill or bakehouse. And in some countries and districts he was later able so to strengthen himself to their detriment that he absorbed most of the profits of cultivation and they were either squeezed out of existence or debased towards slavery." But the common pasture lands were the rule everywhere, and were extremely important owing to the large amount of live stock in mediæval Europe. Such pasture lands were managed by the village community, and in Europe as a whole the village community was persistent and powerful in its common employment of shepherds, cowherds and swineherds, its common use and upkeep of roads, waterways, ovens, mills, winepresses, breweries, wash-houses, and in common policing, and it was notably strengthened by the parochial organisation. The instances of its survival as a community of collective cultivators are

exceptional, and seem to have been due either, as in the Highlands, to unproductive agriculture which kept back the peasant households, or, as in Russia, to extensive agriculture, combined with a late development of feudalism which kept back the landlord. The so-called run-rig tillage, which is a survival of the periodical redistribution of strips in the village communal system, is even now practised in remote districts, here and there in Europe. In Russia, China and India in spite of many vicissitudes, the self-government of local and non-local bodies and the economic control of the village, as well as the communal ownership of the living conveniences essential to group welfare, have persisted and still remain the original and essential substratum of the political and economic structure of society.

Essentials of Patriotism.—The Athenian citizens took the following oath to the Commonwealth at the beginning of their second year of military service: “I will not bring dishonour upon my arms, and I will not desert the comrade by my side. I will defend the sacred places and all things holy, whether alone or with the help of many. I will leave my native land not less, but greater and better, than I found it. I will render intelligent obedience to my superiors, and will obey the established ordinances and whatsoever other laws the people shall harmonically establish. I will not suffer the laws to be set aside or disobeyed, but will defend them alone or with the help of all. And I will respect the memory of the fathers.

“The Gods be my witnesses.”

CHAPTER VII

POLITICAL RIGHTS

Absolutism of the King.—For hundreds and thousands of years since the State had been formed there was but little question of setting up popular rule. It is the conquering folk which established their domination over the population ; but, even of the conquering folk, only a very small class wielded the real authority, and it might be that authority was concentrated in the person of the monarch who could declare : “ I am the State.”

With the help of his standing army or mercenary soldiers, with the priest always ready to invest his authority with superstitious terror, with the spoils of conquest freely distributed amongst the chosen and the privileged, the king easily could become an irresponsible, supreme authority.

Struggle for Popular Government.—Long, long years rolled by before the strong, massive edifice of the State built up about the authority of the ruler and buttressed by divine right could be made amenable to the people's will and authority. It has been a long, continuous, stern fight of the people to gain control of the government before despotism ended. The fight has been on different lines in different countries. In the city states of the Greeks popular government could be established among a maritime people bred in secluded mountain valleys ; but, though all citizens could meet and deliberate together for the making of laws, only a minority of one to two were citizens ; the rest were slaves. But this democracy, which in reality was a close aristocracy in relation to the community as a whole, was extinguished with the advent of the Roman

Empire. Popular government reappeared in the free cities of Europe, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and then were seen such exquisite painting and sculpture, cathedral building and handicraft, as have hardly any parallel in the history of the world. The Roman Empire gave the people of Europe the idea of law and order. In the Dark Ages, when the larger part of Europe was delivered into barbarism, the Roman law kept alive the desire for rights and liberties, on the one hand ; and a large conception of the end and purpose of the State on the other. Feudalism then guaranteed rights to the different classes of the State, but took no interest in the welfare of the working masses. Out of the ruins of feudalism developed the absolute royal power, before which every vestige of popular control was swept away. It was only in Switzerland, England and the Low Countries that absolutism met with resistance.

Risings and Wars for Freedom.—A band of religious enthusiasts who called themselves the Pilgrim Fathers left England on board the *Mayflower* and settled themselves in America, where they sought religious freedom. Such liberty-seekers easily found cause to rebel against the uncontrolled authority of the English king, and in their Declaration of Independence dedicated themselves to the proposition that all men are created equal and free. Meanwhile the French people arose in mass against their king, clergy and nobility, hoisted the flag of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity and marched across the frontiers of France to set free other European peoples from bondage. This resulted in great and disastrous wars which checked the growth of liberty of every nation. But the germs of idealism sown in France were spread broadcast to all countries of the world.

English Constitutionalism.—In England the belief has gained ground for centuries and has been strengthened by daily experience that the means of effecting

improvement is found within the established constitution and that there is no need of a new constitution such as was drafted in form on many occasions by idealists and leaders, or such as was actually incorporated into the statute book by the constitution-makers in America. The main principles of English government are not, indeed, formally and exactly set forth in a single written instrument ; but they are to be found scattered in their ancient and noble statutes ; and, what is of far greater moment, they are engraven on the hearts of Englishmen during four hundred years. That, without the consent of the representatives of the nation, no legislative Act can be passed, no tax imposed, no regular soldiery kept up ; that no man can be imprisoned, even for a day, by the arbitrary will of the sovereign ; that no tool of power can plead the royal command as a justification for violating any right of the humblest subject, are held both by Whigs and Tories to be fundamental laws of the realm. Macaulay adds : “ A realm of which these were the fundamental laws stood in no need of a new constitution.”

English Freedom Guaranteed by Law.—In England personal liberty is guaranteed simply by the courts of law. Indeed, the existence of constitutional declarations of the liberty of the individual are of no avail without machinery to guarantee it. In England the right of personal freedom implies the right not to be coerced in any manner which is not justified by law. There should be no unwarrantable searches and seizures. A person accused should have an open, fair and speedy trial before a jury. No excessive bail should be required nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted. The citizen is to be secured in his freedom of speech, of reputation, of discussion, and of public meeting, of the press, of worship and conscience, of association and of family life.

Chequered History of Freedom.—In England the

chief danger of democracy that it may become mob rule or anarchy has been least seen. Both during the French Revolution and recently in Russia there was established in name and guise of democracy a dictatorship marked by terror which no absolute king ever could dare to perpetrate. Thus the history of popular freedom is itself an uncertain and chequered history.

It now moves from precedent to precedent in smooth, harmonious development, now takes long jerky strides through blood and suffering, and now and then recoils and goes back when the feverish and impatient pursuit of liberty leads to a thorough and indiscriminate suppression of all opposed to the particular tenets of it.

NOTE

Value of Talk.—We may rail at “mere talk” as much as we please, but the probability is that the affairs of nations and men will be more and more regulated by talk. The amount of talk which is now expended on all subjects of human interest—and in “talk” I include contributions to periodical literature—is something of which no previous age has had the smallest conception. Of course it varies infinitely in quality. A very large proportion of it does no good beyond relieving the feelings of the talker. Political philosophers maintain, and with good reason, that one of its greatest uses is keeping down discontent under popular government. It is undoubtedly true that it is an immense relief to a man with a grievance to express his feelings about it in words, even if he knows that his words will have no immediate effect. Self love is apt to prevent most men from thinking that anything they say with passion or earnestness will utterly and finally fail. But still it is safe to suppose that one half of the talk of the world on subjects of general interest is waste. But the other half certainly tells. We know this from the change in ideas from generation to generation. We see that opinions which at one time everybody held became absurd in the course of half a century—opinions about religion and morals and manners and government. Nearly every man of my age can recall

old opinions of his own, on subjects of general interest, which he once thought highly respectable, and which he is now ashamed of having ever held. He does not remember when he changed them, or why, but somehow they have passed away from him. In communities these changes are often very striking. The transformation, for instance, of the England of Cromwell into the England of Queen Anne, or of the New England of Cotton Mather into the New England of Theodore Parker and Emerson was very extraordinary, but it would be very difficult to say in detail what brought it about, or when it began. Lecky has some curious observations, in his *History of Rationalism*, on these silent changes in new beliefs apropos of the disappearance of the belief in witchcraft. Nobody could say what had swept it away, but it appeared that in a certain year people were ready to burn old women as witches; and a few years later were ready to laugh at or pity any one who thought old women could be witches. "At one period," says he, "we find every one disposed to believe in witches; at a later period we find this predisposition has silently passed away." The belief in witchcraft may perhaps be considered a somewhat violent illustration, like the change in public opinion about slavery in this country. But there can be no doubt that it is talk—somebody's, anybody's, everybody's talk—by which these changes are wrought, by which each generation comes to feel and think differently from its predecessor. No one ever talks freely about anything without contributing something, let it be ever so little, to the unseen forces which carry the race on to its final destiny. Even if he does not make a positive impression he counteracts or modifies some other impression, or sets in motion some train of ideas in some one else, which helps to change the face of the world. So I shall, in disregard of the great laudation of silence which filled the earth in the days of Carlyle, say that one of the functions of an educated man is to talk, and, of course, he should try to talk wisely.—(From *Problems of Modern Democracy*, by Edward Lawrence Godkin, pages 221-224.)

CHAPTER VIII

ELECTORATES AND FRANCHISE

Election Systems—Direct and Indirect.—Since modern states are much larger in area than the city states in ancient Greece or village communities in India and China, it is impossible for citizens to meet together to discuss measures. Hence modern democracy rests on representation, according to which the citizens meet periodically to elect others to act for them in the Legislative Assembly. The citizens who elect are called the electorate. In different countries there are different electoral laws. The systems of election are also different. In some countries election is indirect. The people choose an intermediary body which elects the representatives. In France the Second Chamber is elected by electoral colleges in the Department. The President of the United States is chosen theoretically by indirect election. One advantage of indirect election is that it checks popular passion and party feeling and secures mature and dispassionate judgment in the final choice of representatives. It is for this reason that many support indirect election for Second Chambers. But indirect election does not evoke popular interest in political affairs and tends to make the people indifferent. The system of direct election has been adopted for the Indian Legislative Assembly and Council of State in preference to the system of indirect election which prevailed in the Morley Councils of 1909. Under the India Act of 1909, besides the official members, members were elected for the Indian legislature by the non-official members of each of the Provincial Councils, by the landholders of certain provinces, by the Muhammadan community in certain

provinces, and by the Bombay and Bengal Chambers of Commerce. Thus a majority of elected members represented sectional interests. The Reformed Councils contain only a very limited number of such members, the great majority representing general constituencies.

Indian Electoral Systems.—There are three distinct and self-contained electoral systems—one provincial and relating to the local legislature, the second and third on an all-India basis, and relating to the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State, respectively. Each electoral system contains (a) general and (b) special constituencies.

Qualifications of Indian Electors.—Generally speaking, the conditions of registration on the electoral roll for both the Indian and the Provincial registers are that every person who is (a) a British Subject, (b) not of unsound mind, (c) not under twenty-one years of age, and (d) has not been convicted of certain offences, in which case a time limit for re-registration is laid down, may be registered as a voter, if he fulfils the other qualifications. These qualifications are based on (a) community, (b) residence, (c) occupation of a house, (d) assessment to property tax, profession tax or tax on companies, (e) assessment to income tax, (f) receipt of a military pension and (g) holding of land.

Property Qualifications of Indian Electorates.—There are three classes of electors in every province which correspond to the three different bodies to which members are elected. Each electorate is based on a property qualification and the qualifications required from voters for the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly are higher than those required from voters for the Provincial Councils, as will be seen from the following table :

A. *All Electorates.* Male British subjects over 21

years of age. The sex disqualification has been removed by the local legislatures in Madras, Bombay and the United Provinces and by the Legislative Assembly.

B. *Urban Constituencies.*

	Local Legislature.	Legislative Assembly.	Council of State.
(1) Residence in the constituency during the previous twelve months; and (2)			
either			
(a) payment of Municipal taxes amounting (as a rule) to not less than ..	per annum Rs. 3	per annum Rs. 15-20	—
or			
(b) occupation (or ownership) of a house of the annual rental value (as a rule) of ..	Rs. 36	Rs. 180	
or			
(c) assessment to income tax on an annual income of not less than ..	Rs. 2,000	Rs. 2,000-5,000	Rs. 10,000 to 20,000

C. *Rural Constituencies.*

The holding of agricultural land assessed at an annual value (as a rule) of ..	Rs. 10-50	Rs. 50-150	Rs. 1,500-3,000
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Territorial and non-Territorial Representation.—The vast majority of the elected members of the new councils are representatives of territorial areas. There are, however, a few non-territorial constituencies. For example, in the Council of State there is one representative each of the Bombay, Calcutta and Burma Chambers of Commerce. In the Legislative Assembly similar provision is made for the representation of Indian Commerce. In the Panjab, out of sixty-four members returned by general constituencies to the local legislature, Sikh constituencies, urban and rural, return twelve members. In the United Provinces Legislative Councils, the Talukdars, the Upper India Chamber of Commerce, the United Provinces Chamber of Commerce, and the University of Allahabad form non-territorial constituencies. In the Bombay Legislative Council, again, there are a few non-territorial constituencies, those of the Deccan and Gujerat Sardars, the Jagirdars of Sind, the University of Bombay, and a few commercial associations. There is also a small number of seats for Europeans. In the Madras Council twenty-eight seats are reserved for non-Brahmans. Besides these there is in every Council a large number of Muhammadan members who have been elected by Muhammadans. The basis of the division between Muhammadan and non-Muhammadan general constituencies is the Lucknow Congress League pact which determined by compromise the percentage of seats that should be guaranteed to Muhammadans in the Reformed Legislatures. But this has given in most provinces of India a larger proportion of seats to the Muhammadans than is warranted by their numerical strength alone.

Indian Provincial Franchise System.—Let us now examine the system of franchise in a particular province. In Bengal the constituencies are arranged by community (Muhammadan, non-Muhammadan, European, Anglo-Indian) and interests (landholders,

commerce, universities). The territorial division of constituencies is into urban and rural, the number of seats varying according to population and community. The boundaries of rural constituencies coincide with those of the administrative district. In certain cases (*e.g.* for election to the central legislature, and for certain communities, such as the European) the constituencies are arranged arbitrarily to suit the purposes of the election. Nomination is used to secure the representation of certain classes (*e.g.* the depressed classes, labour, and Indian Christians). Commerce and industry are represented separately according to individual interests (*e.g.* the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, the Indian Tea Association and the Indian Mining Association). The total statutory number of the Bengal Council is 125, actually it is 142. The qualifications of electors vary from constituency to constituency. The qualifications, with the constituencies, depend on the communities (Muhammadan, non-Muhammadan, European, Anglo-Indian), and interests (landholders, universities, commerce, etc.). Beyond community, the chief qualifications are, as we have seen, residence in the constituency, the payment of taxes (municipal taxes, road and public works cesses, *chowkidari* or union rates, income tax), the holding of an Indian Army pension, and the owning or occupying of land or buildings separately valued and assessed at a given figure (*e.g.* Rs. 300 per annum for Calcutta). The qualifications of landholders vary from district to district. In each case a minimum of land revenue or of road or public works cesses must be paid. The standard is sufficiently low to enfranchise the more substantial cultivators and the lower-middle class in the towns. The total number registered as voters for the Council of State was 17,364; that for the Legislative Assembly was 909,874; and that for the

Provincial Councils was 5,345,870. In all, nearly 2·5 per cent. of the total population are brought within the scope of the new Reforms.

The voters were divided among the different provinces as follows :

United Provinces	1,347,258
Madras	1,258,156
Bengal	1,021,418
Bombay	548,419
Panjab	505,361
Bihar and Orissa	327,564
Assam	203,191
Central Provinces	144,737
Total	<hr/> 5,356,104

With the addition of female voters the number in the electorate rolls will be larger.

Qualifications of Candidates.—No person is eligible as a candidate for a general constituency who is not registered as a voter in that or some other general constituency in the village. He must further, in all provinces, excepting Assam and the United Provinces, belong to the community represented ; while in Bombay, the Central Provinces and the Panjab he must also be a resident of the general constituency in which he offers himself for election. The imposition of the residential qualification ensures that the representative should be intimately acquainted with the needs of the electorate. But, lest the efficiency of the Councils suffers, since there are more able men in the towns than in the villages who will be confined, under the residential qualification, to the small number of seats allocated to the towns, both systems are now in use.

Single and Plural Voting.—No person is entitled to vote in more than one general constituency. This

is called single voting. But plural voting is permitted in cases where a man votes in a general constituency and also in a special constituency, such as a Chamber of Commerce, or a University, or a Planters' or Landholders' Association.

Education of the Electorate.—Much of the success of democracy depends upon the civic sense of the electorate. In modern democratic countries in the West it is the electorate which is the power behind parliaments and cabinets. Education alone, in the widest sense of the term, can fit a people for real democracy ; for without education there cannot be that unceasing vigilance over the activities of the representatives without which democracy inevitably degenerates into bureaucracy. Unless there is a wide diffusion of education among the electorate, democracy is in danger also from class dictatorship. Neither an ever-watchful civic sense nor an extended sociality can be acquired excepting through discipline in the intermingling of diverse interests and functions in the small local bodies and assemblies, where, indeed, democracy is made or marred. In a peasant civilisation like that of India, where people are scattered and public opinion of the masses consequently is less articulate, there is special danger of the instruments of democratic control being captured and engineered by powerful interests. As it is, the bulk of the representation is drawn from the towns, and consequently is not in close touch with the needs of the rural population. Thus it is service on the old and essential local bodies, the village *panchayats* and councils galvanised into life by decentralisation, which affords the best discipline in citizenship. No good can come out of the Reforms without the reform of the ryot at the plough.

CHAPTER IX

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

Governor-General's Supreme Council.—The head of the Government of India is the Viceroy and Governor-General. Lord Curzon said : " Never let it be forgotten that the Government of India is governed not by an individual, but by a committee. No important Act can be taken without the assent of a majority of that committee." That Committee is called the Governor-General's Executive Council. The size of the Council has varied from time to time. By the Act of 1915 the number of members was limited to five, or, if the Crown so decided, six ; but the Act of 1919 removed these limits and the Council now consists of eight members, including the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, the latter being an extraordinary member. This has had the far-reaching consequence that three of the eight members of the Council now are Indians. For the office of Law Member Indian law qualifications are recognised as the equivalent of British. The Parliamentary Committee suggested that as time goes on the official members would probably be of Indian rather than of English extraction.

The members of Council divide among themselves the following Departments : Revenue and Agriculture ; Finance ; Foreign Department ; Home Department ; Commerce and Industry ; Education and Public Works.

Decentralisation Policy.—The policy of the Government of India had long been not to interfere unnecessarily with the details of provincial administration.

Thus the Decentralisation Committee reported : " Future policy should be directed to steadily enlarging the spheres of detailed administration entrusted to Provincial Governments, and the authorities subordinate to them, and of recognising that they must definitely dispose of an increasing share in the work of Government." The success of this policy brings about what is called federalism and awaits the development of self-governing institutions in the provinces. In the meanwhile the control of the Government of India is inevitable. The Parliamentary Committee discussed the question and urged that in purely provincial matters, which are reserved where the provincial government and legislature are in agreement, their view should be allowed to prevail, though it is necessary to bear in mind the fact that some reserved subjects do cover matters in which the Central Government is closely concerned. Over transferred subjects, on the other hand the control of the Governor-General in Council, and thus of the Secretary of State, are restricted by the Devolution Rules.

Central and Reserved Subjects of Government.—The Government of India Act of 1919 makes a distinction between " Central " and " Provincial " subjects and between " reserved " and " transferred " subjects. The distinction between Central and Provincial is between the functions of the provincial legislatures and provincial governments and those of the Governor-General in Council and the Indian legislature. The list of central subjects includes all those subjects which are the normal functions of central government, *viz.* foreign affairs, defence, major communications, shipping, coinage, customs, port and coast control, posts and telegraphs, copyrights, civil law, criminal law, and certain all-India surveys (*e.g.* geological and archæological). The Act does not make any material difference in the previous administrative system.

Provincial and Transferred Subjects—Finance.—Forty-four separate subjects are given to the Government of India, as well as all matters not expressly included in the provincial list of subjects. The list of provincial subjects includes some forty-two items, the most important of which are local self-government, medical administration (hospitals and public health), education, public works, land revenue, famine relief, agriculture and fisheries, co-operative credit, forests, excise, the administration of justice, registration, factories, water-supply and religious endowments. The subjects transferred to the control of the Governor acting with ministers are numerous. They include local self-government, medical administration (with public health), education, public works, agriculture, fisheries, the veterinary department, forests, co-operative credit, excise, registration, the development of industries and religious endowments. Receipts from taxes imposed by the provincial governments, proceeds from loans raised by the provincial governments and from recoveries of loans, proceeds from payments made by the Government of India for services rendered, a share of the income tax and balances outstanding at the time when the new system starts, are given to the provincial governments by the Government of India. The provincial governments must also pay contributions to the Government of India. These contributions are fixed by the Government of India for each province individually. Specific powers of taxation and of borrowing are also given to the provincial governments.

Indian Legislature.—The Indian Legislature consists of the Governor-General and two Chambers: *viz.* the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly. The Council of State or the Upper Chamber contains 60 members as a maximum, of whom not more than one-third shall be officials. The Legislative Assembly or the Lower Chamber consists of 140 members as a

minimum, of whom at least five-sevenths shall be elected, and not more than two-thirds of the nominated members shall be officials. The brunt of the work in the Legislature falls on the Assembly. The Council of State is more conservative in tone. It has been described as a fifth wheel in the coach, but it will have an increasingly important rôle to play as the years pass on. The members of the Governor-General's Executive Council are not *ex-officio* members of either Chamber, but each of them has to be appointed a member of one or other Chamber and can vote only in the Chamber of which he is a member. Any member of the Executive Council may attend and address either Chamber.

Relations of Governor, Executive and Assembly.—With certain statutory limitations in regard to the army, foreign affairs, and relations with the Native States, the Indian legislature exercises the same parliamentary powers over finance and legislation within the central sphere as the provincial councils exercise within their provincial sphere. But since no direct attempt has been made to introduce responsible government at the centre, the authority of the Governor-General to disregard an adverse vote of the Legislature on legislation or supplies is less restricted in its operation than in the provinces: *i.e.* it is not confined in its application to categories of subjects but covers the entire field, touching all matters which he considers to be vital and certifies as such. The Assembly, which has an overwhelmingly large non-official majority, rejected the proposal to increase the salt tax when the last Budget was placed before it, and the Viceroy found it necessary to override the decision of the Lower House. The relation between the Executive and the Assembly is far from satisfactory. The difficulties have been thus set forth by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, lately a member of the Executive: "On the one hand, constitutionally, it is under

the control—a very real and living control—of the Secretary of State ; on the other, it has to deal with an Assembly which has an overwhelmingly large non-official majority. The Executive is irremovable, but, all the same, excepting in regard to certain matters, it feels the pressure of solid non-official opinion in the Assembly. It may at times accept compromises which perhaps it would have rejected if it had a party to fall back upon, and when it refuses to accept any such compromises it comes into conflict with non-official opinion in the Assembly and popular opinion outside. On the other hand, an Assembly which knows that it can criticise the Government and offer obstruction whenever it can close up its ranks, but which is not entrusted with any responsibility, must more or less be always in an attitude of suspicion and resent the limitations which have been placed upon its powers."

Difficulties of a Transitional Arrangement.—The introduction of responsible government at the centre is beset with difficulties. One of these is the partial irresponsibility in the provincial government, so far as the reserved subjects are concerned, which is mainly in the hands of British officials and which demands the exercise of general supervision by the Government of India as one of its important functions. Thus, both provincial autonomy and the transformation of the Government of India are linked together as progressive steps towards full Home Rule. The Parliament in England, which retains its supremacy in the matter of Indian affairs by its insistence that it alone must be the judge of the time and the measure of each political advance, must realise from the nature of the case that there can be no standing still, for the defects and dangers of the new Constitution lie embedded in its transitional character. It is the weakness of a transitory arrangement which furnishes the strongest argument for a detailed and careful re-examination

of the whole position ; and, indeed, the Government of India contemplates the early appointment of a commission for the purposes of inquiring into the working of the system of government, the growth of education and the development of representative institutions in the country.

NOTE

Progress Towards Responsible Government.—The King Emperor's Proclamation : " Another epoch has been reached to-day in the annals of India. I have given my royal assent to an Act which will takes its place among the great historic measures passed by the Parliament of this realm for the better government of India and the greater contentment of her people. The Acts of 1773 and 1784 were designed to establish a regular system of administration and justice under the Honourable East India Company. The Act of 1883 opened the door for Indians to public office and employment. The Act of 1858 transferred the administration from the Company to the Crown, and laid the foundations of public life which exists in India to-day. The Act of 1861 sowed the seed of representative institutions, and the seed was quickened into life by the Act of 1909. The Act which has now become law entrusts elected representatives of the people with a definite share in the Government and points the way to full responsible government hereafter. If, as I confidently hope, the policy which this Act inaugurates should achieve its purpose, the results will be momentous in the story of human progress ; and it is timely and fitting that I should invite you to-day to consider the past and join Me in My hopes of the future.

" I have watched with understanding and sympathy the growing desire of My Indian people for representative institutions. Starting from small beginnings, this ambition has steadily strengthened its hold upon the intelligence of the country. It has pursued its course along constitutional channels with sincerity and courage. It has survived the discredit, which at times and in places lawless

men sought to cast upon it by acts of violence committed under the guise of patriotism. It has been stirred to more vigorous life by the ideals for which the British Commonwealth fought in the Great War, and it claims support in the part which India has taken in our common struggles, anxieties and victories. In truth, the desire after political responsibility has its source at the root of the British connection with India. It has sprung inevitably from the deeper and wider studies of human thought and history which that connection has opened to the Indian people. Without it the work of the British in India would have been incomplete. It was therefore with a wise judgment that the beginnings of representative institutions were laid many years ago. Their scope has been extended stage by stage until there now lies before us a definite step on the road to responsible government."

CHAPTER X

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

Administrative Divisions of Past Indian Empires.—A vast country cannot be governed from a distant centre. Thus, the empire of Asoka (260 B.C.), which was inherited from his great-grandfather Chandragupta, and which was much larger than British India, was divided for administrative purposes into a number of provinces, of which the remote ones were placed under viceroys. Asoka's edicts refer to four princely viceroys, *viz.* those governing the provinces with head-quarters at Taxila, Ujjain, Tosali (for Kalinga) and Suvarnagiri (for the south). Gandhara was another viceroyalty. Akbar's empire (1605) was similarly divided into fifteen *subas*: (1) Kabul; (2) Lahore (Panjab), including Kashmir; (3) Multan, including Sind; (4) Delhi; (5) Agra; (6) Awadh (Oudh), Allahabad; (8) Ajmer; (9) Ahmedabad (Gujarat); (10) Malwa; (11) Behar (Bihar); (12) Bengal, including Orissa; (13) Khandesh; (14) Berar; (15) Ahmednagar. In the latter years of Aurangzeb's reign the fifteen provinces of Akbar's time had increased to twenty-one. Southern Sind, Kashmir and Orissa formerly included respectively in Multan, Kabul, and Bengal had been separated, and the provinces of the Deccan had become six instead of three. There were also smaller administrative divisions called *Parganas*, *Paras* and *Pattis* in Northern India and *Nads*, *Nadus* and *Deshams* in the South.

Provinces of British India.—British India for administrative purposes is divided into fifteen provinces, each with its separate Local Government or Administration. In eight of the provinces—the three

Presidencies of Madras, Bombay and Bengal, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the Panjab, Bihar and Orissa, the Central Provinces and Assam—the Local Government consists of a Governor, an Executive Council of not more than four members, and two or more Ministers. In another province, Burma, the Reforms were introduced in 1922. Now, Burma also has become a Governor's Province with an Executive Council and Ministers, and in all essentials is to conform to the provinces recreated under the Act of 1919, with some difference in the size of the electorate. The remaining six provinces are administered directly by Chief Commissioners, who are technically mere agents of the Central Government of India.

Why Reform Was Initiated in the Provinces.—When the new reforms were proposed it was agreed on all hands that it was in the provinces that the first substantial steps must be taken towards the development of a system of responsible government. The reason was pointed out thus clearly by Mr. Montagu in his speech before the House of Commons, on June 5, 1919: "You are not writing on a clear, clean slate. You are writing, and rightly, in continuation of chapters which have been written before. You are building on foundations that already exist. It is in the provinces that you must look for your unit, because it is in the provinces that the great educational results of Lord Morley's Reform Bill have been achieved. He made the Legislative Councils representative to some extent of the people, with a very small electorate and practically no powers beyond powers of criticism. But it is the existence of those councils which has awakened the appetite for self-government, and has added to the appreciation of self-government in India; and it is therefore, to my mind, absolutely inevitable that we should proceed to devote ourselves to taking the Morley-Minto councils a stage farther in the develop-

ment. Therefore it is to the provinces that we go, and the provinces are beginning to be units of local patriotism in India. I do not say that as time goes on you will not substantially modify the size and boundaries of your provinces. Some of them are very artificial. But, when you do, it should be in conformity with the wishes of the inhabitants of the provinces, and not by executive action."

Defect of the Morley-Minto Reforms.—It was felt, however, that on the lines of the Morley-Minto reforms there could be no advance. The Morley-Minto constitution gave Indians much wider opportunities for the expression of their views, and greatly increased their power of influencing the policy of Government and its administration of public business. But the element of responsibility was entirely lacking. Lord Chelmsford expressed his deliberate opinion thus: "That particular line of development had been carried to the furthest limit of which it admitted, and the only further change of which the system was susceptible would have made the Legislative and Administrative Acts of an irremovable executive entirely amenable to elected councils, and would have resulted in a disastrous deadlock. The Executive would have remained responsible for the government of the country, but would have lacked the power to secure the measures necessary for the discharge of that responsibility."

Montagu-Chelmsford Approach to Home Rule.—The solution which finally commended itself to the authors of the new reforms was in the direction of introducing Home Rule among certain branches of Provincial Government, called the transferred departments, under Ministers who were elected members of the Provincial Legislative Councils. Such transferred departments include: Education; Excise Duties; Sanitation and Public Health; Development of Agriculture and Industries; Roads and Buildings; Local Self-government. It is in these that Indians

can show and utilise best their local knowledge for the building up of the nation. The ministers are selected by the Governor of the Province from the Council as commanding or likely to command the support of the majority of that body, and their responsibility to it is fixed as clearly as possible. It is the Council upon whom their power rests and from whom their authority is derived. They hold office during the Governor's pleasure, but their retention to office is contingent on their ability to retain the confidence not only of the Governor, but also of the Council, upon whose vote they are directly dependent for their salaries.

In the case of the other branches of Provincial Government, which are known as the reserved departments, the Governor and his Executive Council, all of whom are appointed by the King, remain accountable to the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India as representing the Parliament.

Diarchy, a Transitional Form of Government.—This division of functions and responsibility has been called diarchy. It depends for its success on two things: first, the willingness of the members in charge of the reserved departments to bring the Ministers into the inner circle of the Cabinet; second, the recognition by the Ministers that they are an integral part of Government. Where the Cabinet is not homogeneous there is a tendency for the departments to be run on different lines and principles. Diarchy loses not only the great advantage of a ministry standing or falling together, but it lacks also that wholesome British convention that the defeat of a ministry on a major issue involves a fresh election. It is this alone which can make criticism fruitful and constructive, and banish obstructiveness from the Councils. Diarchy illustrates the transitional nature of the present Reform Scheme, and, in common with all transitional schemes, has its special defects and dangers. The Provincial Council exercises

the authority of a sovereign Parliament in the case of the transferred subjects. The Council may carry a resolution on any subject, reserved as well as transferred. But such resolutions are not binding on Government, though they must in all cases carry weight as the expression of the will of the elected representatives of the people. Another effective check is the new control over finance which has been granted to the provincial legislature. In the case of the reserved subjects it exercises similar powers, including control over finance and legislation, but temporarily its authority is limited by the discretionary power of the Governor in his capacity as executive head of the reserved departments.

Limited Home Rule and its Working.—Thus, though Home Rule has been introduced in the Provincial Governments, there are statutory reservations which have limited its sphere and scope. Much also will depend upon the guiding capacity and tact of the Governor. The Parliamentary Committee hoped that, without violating the sense of responsibility, the ministers would be given every possible assistance. If there should be a difference of opinion between the Governor and a minister, the Parliamentary Committee held that ordinarily the minister should be allowed to carry out his ideas and shoulder the responsibility for them, even though subsequently the Governor might have to veto any particular piece of legislation. The Committee observed : “ It is not possible but that in India, as in all other countries, mistakes will be made by ministers, acting with the approval of a majority of the Legislative Council ; but there is no way of learning except through experience and the realisation of responsibility. If the Governor finds himself compelled to act against the minister’s advice, the minister can resign and then it will be for the members of the Council and, in the long run, the electors at the next election, to decide between them.”

The Parliamentary Committee also regarded it as of the highest importance that the Governor should foster the habit of free consultation between both sections of his Government, and, indeed, that he should insist upon it in all important matters of common interest. He thus would ensure that ministers would contribute their knowledge of the people's wishes and susceptibilities, and the members of his Executive Council their administrative experience, to the joint wisdom of the Government. While the Committee anticipated much advantage from amicable and, as far as possible, spontaneous association for purposes of deliberation, they would not allow it to confuse the duties or obscure the separate responsibility which would rest on the two parts of the administration. Each side of the Government would advise and assist the other ; neither would control nor impede the other.

CHAPTER XI

DISTRICT ADMINISTRATION

Indian Village Government.—The system of district administration in India is partly indigenous and partly the result of British rule. The Munda-Dravidian division of the tribal territory and central and local governments by councils presided over by the hereditary headmen of the villages laid the foundations of Indian village government. On this was superimposed the Dravidian system of the central government of chiefs or the *rajas*. Feudatory estates, *jagirs*, *talukdaris* and *zamindaris* in the Central Provinces and Berar are, for instance, the distinct vestiges of the strong central government of the Gonds who placed the great *rāja* in the most important domain and grouped the other territories into greater or lesser chiefs' estates around the former. The outlying districts of a conquered territory, in the Dravidian scheme, were occupied usually by chiefs (*ghatwals* of Chota Nagpur and Southern and Western Bengal and *poligars* of Southern India), who were wardens of extensive marches, and their successors at this day occupy the position of considerable *zamindars*. In fact, large estates belonging to single owners in different parts of India owe their origin in many cases to the strong Dravidian rule by chiefs and their *sardars*. The Dravidians, indeed, founded and consolidated the present land revenue system of India. The Muhammadans, the Marathas and the British in succession have grafted on the Dravidian village organisation their own officials, *patels* or *deshmukhas* or *pandyas*, for the systematic collection of the revenue, or utilised the old officials, the *manki*, headman and

the Dravidian accountants. Such village officials are still met with under different names in different parts of India.

Types of the Indian Village.—In considering the village administration we direct our attention to the position of the headman in relation to the system of land revenue administration, which is a determining factor of the Indian village management in one important direction. Several types are distinguishable. The *ryotwari* village, where the revenue is assessed on individual cultivators, is the chief type outside Northern India. This is probably the most ancient, and owes its original existence to settlement by some tribe or clan which already possessed a leader. The headman, who is such a leader, has been recognised by the British Government and taken into its service as an intermediary, not necessary but adventitious, between itself and the villagers, and made hereditary. Individual assessment, however, has divested him of the powerful influence he formerly wielded as the representative of the village in all its dealings with governments of the past. The traditions of co-operative village administration, which developed almost to perfection in the south as a result of long-continued and undisturbed autonomy, still continue here. In the case of the British *zamindari* or landlord system of Bengal and Bihar, on the other hand, the chief men of the village necessarily will be the landlords (or their clerks and subordinates) with whom the settlement is made and who are responsible to government for the payment of land revenue. In the *zamindari* system the system of co-operative village administration, therefore, languishes, and village councils degenerate. There is again a third type of village, *viz.* the joint village, where there is no longer a body of cultivators each of whom has his own independent rights as in the *ryotwari* system. Some of the villagers claim the ownership, not merely of the fields they cultivate, but of the whole

of village lands. The management of the affairs of the joint body is properly by a committee of heads of houses. The joint village does not possess a recognised headman. Latterly, the government has found it necessary to institute a species of headman for these villages also, but such a man is merely representative of the joint proprietors in their dealings with the government. He is called *lambardar* (holder of a number), and his office is allowed to be in some degree elective. The joint village is the prevalent form in the United Provinces, the Panjab and the Frontier Province. Remembering the three distinct types of villages, we at once can indicate the relative importance of the functions of the headman and the strength of the village co-operative organisation in different parts of India.

- I. The village under the permanent settlement in Bengal and in parts of Bihar and Orissa ; in Oudh, the United and the Central Provinces. The village headman, *mukhya*, *mandal*, or *pradhan*, is often a mere creature of the *zamindar*. The communal village system cannot prosper in the presence in the locality of the strong landlord and his minions.
- II. The *ryotwari* village in Madras and Bombay. The great change in the revenue management under which the amount of each cultivator's payment was fixed by government officers and not left to be adjusted by the community lowered the position and authority of the headman. He has now become a servant of the State and is paid for his services in cash and land. In Madras the village headman, *munsif* or *manigar*, and the village accountant, *karnam* or

kanakapillai, still retain their hereditary dignity and rights, and often their rent-free plot of land (*maniyam*) or are paid a fixed salary by government. The headman still holds a high position in the village and as the social head leads all social and religious festivals, and has precedence in all domestic ceremonies of the villagers.

The hereditary *patel* is found in all the different divisions of the Bombay presidency, but the *kulkarni* or *talati* for historical reasons only in the Deccan and Southern Mahratta country and not in Gujrat or the Konkan. The sources of income were: (1) land for the most part exempt from rent; (2) direct levies in cash and kind from the *ryots* or compensation in lieu thereof; (3) cash payments from the government treasury. Their salary is fixed by a scale with reference to the gross revenue of the village.

The corporate life of the village community is seen in its strength and vigour so far as possible under the *Pax Britannica*.

III. The joint village—the Panjab and the United Provinces.

The *lambardar* (headman) and the *patwari* (accountant) are not so strong in position and sometimes have too little influence. There are sometimes too many *lambardars*, one for each section; the *patwari* is usually appointed not to a single village but to a circle of villages.

Indian Local Government—General Scheme.—Starting from the village or groups of villages with their *Panchayats* or Union Boards, the scheme of local government ascends through the Local Boards to the District Board, the most important of local self-governing bodies in rural areas. But most of the work of public administration is concentrated in the District Magistrate and Collector, who has under him many subordinate officers. In general the districts are split up into subdivisions under junior officers of the Indian Civil Service, or members of the Provincial Service styled Deputy Collectors, and these again into minor charges bearing different names and held by officers of the subordinate service. Administration is thus conducted on the principle of repeated subdivisions of territory and functions. The central unit of administration is the district, which in some provinces is part of a wider unit, the division. The Montagu-Chelmsford report says: "The average size of a district is 4,430 sq. miles, or three-fourths the size of Yorkshire. Many are much bigger. Mymensingh district holds more human souls than Switzerland. Vizagapatam district both in area and population exceeds Denmark. In the United Provinces, where districts are small and the population dense, each collector is on the average in charge of an area as large as Norfolk and of a population as large as that of New Zealand. The Commissioner of the Tirhut Division looks after more people than the Government of Canada."

District Officer.—The district officer's duties and responsibilities are manifold. Sir W. W. Hunter describes them thus: "He is a fiscal officer charged with the collection of the revenue from the land and other sources; he is also a Revenue and Criminal Judge both of first instance and in appeal. But his title by no means exhausts his multifarious duties. He does in his small local sphere all that the Home

Secretary does in England, and a great deal more, for he is the representative of a paternal and not of a constitutional Government. Police, jails, education, municipalities, roads, sanitation, dispensaries, local taxation, and the imperial revenues of his district are to him matters of daily concern. He is expected to make himself acquainted with every phase of the social life of the natives, and with each natural aspect of the country. He should be a lawyer, an accountant, a financier, and a ready writer of State papers. He ought also to possess no mean knowledge of agriculture, political economy and engineering."

Functions and Powers of Local Bodies.—The control and supervision exercised by the Collector and Magistrate and his large staff of subordinate officers is gradually being withdrawn so as to develop local initiative and responsibility. Thus the *Panchayats* and Unions deal with local sanitation, roads, maintenance of order, dispensaries, wells and primary schools. They have very restricted powers of taxation, to provide them with the funds necessary for carrying on their work. Local Boards have wider powers of the same type. The widest duties and powers are possessed by the District Boards, which represent the whole district. These Boards have their own organisations and staffs to carry out their functions. The District Board, which is responsible for roads, bridges, medical, veterinary, educational and other types of work, usually has a permanent District Engineer, and Veterinary Officer with assistants and offices. In work such as education they co-operate closely with the Education Department. The various boards have statutory powers of taxation. The main sources of revenue are the land cess, road tolls, fees from pounds and ferries, and grants from the Provincial Governments.

Suggested Reforms in Local Government.—Mr. G. K. Gokhale, in his political testament, 1915, urged :

(a) a liberalising of the present form of district administration, and (b) a great extension of local self-government. For (a) he thought that it would be necessary to abolish the Commissionerships of divisions excepting where special reasons may exist for their being maintained, as in Sind, and to associate small District Councils, partly elected and partly nominated, with the Collector, to whom most of the present powers of the Commissioners could then be transferred—the functions of the Councils being advisory to begin with. For (b) Village *Panchayats* partly elected and partly nominated should be created for villages and groups of villages; the Municipal Boards in towns and *Taluk* Boards in *Taluks* should be made wholly elected bodies, the Provincial Government reserving to itself and exercising stringent powers of control. A portion of the excise revenue should be made over to these bodies so that they may have adequate resources at their disposal for the due performance of their duties. The district being too large an area for efficient local self-government by an honorary agency, the functions of the District Boards should be strictly limited and the Collector should continue to be its *ex officio* President. Already experiments are being tried with non-official Chairmen of District Boards, and these have proved a success.

The development of Village *Panchayats*, Unions and Circles, leading up from the village community as the primary unit at the bottom of the ladder to the District Board at the top, is the true Jacob's ladder for a safe and sure ascent to the democrat's Heaven. And, as the Seal Committee on Mysore Constitutional Development urges, this is the plan of the Indian rural organisation which is still visible in outline, however dilapidated may be the walls; and even now it may be restored with some facings and buttresses from modern County Council developments of the agricultural countries in the West.

Danger of Half-measures.—Reference of local subjects to District Boards is no doubt a first step in decentralisation, but unless the latter are empowered to dispose of some of these local matters direct or in correspondence with the local representative of the Central Government (the Deputy Commissioner) ; unless also they are given powers of control, and of inspection and criticism, as the case may be, of any local works or service carried on by a department, especially when subsidised by a local body ; and, finally, unless the benefits of the *Panchayat* are brought home to the villager in the concerns of his daily life, our moribund local bodies in the interior never can be galvanised into life by the sterile formality of a “ reference ” or “ devolution.” Our local bodies are the paralytic lower limbs of the administration. Here is the imminent risk in India, this weakness in the lumbar region ; and we must beware lest by throwing an Atlas’s load of State responsibilities on drooping shoulders we break the spine !

Root Weakness of Indian Local Government.—Much of the weakness of Local Government is due to the fact that local bodies, as they are worked in India to-day, are framed largely on British models, and do not constitute a continuation of such indigenous institutions as were to be found in the pre-British period. Moreover, they were entrusted with very little powers. Thus, Mr. Rushbrook Williams says : “ Up to a short time ago, it was not unfair to say that municipalities and district boards proved themselves indifferent because the powers entrusted to them were as a rule insignificant. On the other hand, these powers continued insignificant because of the apathy and lack of public spirit of the members. A vicious circle was thus created which has only begun to break down within the last three or four years through a determination on the part of the administration to entrust more important functions to the institutions of

local self-government and to confer upon their members a degree of responsibility which it was hoped would rouse them from the listlessness in which they had too long remained. With the transfer of local self-government to ministers elected by the people, it may confidently be hoped that the existing apathy will be gradually transformed into a live and energetic enthusiasm. Until this can be accomplished, progress is bound to remain disappointingly slow."

Recent Improvements in Village Self-Government.—Recently a growing popular interest in village self-government and improvement has been manifested. In 1919 a Village Self-Government Act was passed in Bengal embodying the policy of constituting Union Boards at the earliest possible date for groups of villages throughout the province. Village committees were created, vested with the duty of managing communal affairs, and entrusted with powers of self-taxation necessary for the purpose. A Circle Officer was introduced for a group of Unions as an intermediary between Government and people, thus bringing the administration into close touch with the villagers. Power is taken also to form Union Benches and Courts from among the members of the Union Boards for the administration of criminal and civil justice in simple cases. During 1921–1922 the number of Union Boards continued to increase, rising from 1,500 to 2,000. Though they are yet in their infancy, many of them show a remarkable aptitude for managing their own affairs. In 1920, the Bombay Legislative Council passed an Act for constituting or increasing the powers of Village Committees. In 1922 the Panjab Legislative Council passed a Village Panchayat Act which bids fair to restore to the *Panchayat* its old authority where it exists, and to revivify it in villages where it has died out, but where the corporate feeling of the village community still survives. Its provisions will be first applied only in those villages, which

are particularly numerous in the south-east, where absence of faction and party feeling gives hope that such a *Panchayat* may have the support of public opinion. The *Panchayat* will be elected, though the election will be informal. It will have considerable administrative functions and also criminal (and in some cases civil) powers. In addition to funds such as the village *malba*, which are now allotted to common village purposes, it will be able to levy a village rate proportionate to the peasant rate levied for *chaukidars*. With such powers the village community should have the opportunity of once more regaining its old vitality and usefulness. In the same year the Village Administrative Act was passed in Bihar and Orissa. This provides for the creation of Unions, consisting of a number of villages, and the constitution therein, on a wholly elective basis, of Union Boards, which may be entrusted with administrative functions and the duty of controlling the village police. In the administrative sphere the Boards may be entrusted with sanitation, medical relief, primary education and the construction and maintenance of village roads. They will derive their income principally from grants-in-aid by the District Boards, to which in these matters they will be subordinate; but also they have been given powers to raise additional funds by means of taxation. In connection with the village police, the chief duty of the Board will be the assessment and collection of the *chaukidar* tax.

Judicial *Panchayats*.—The most important part of the Act is a provision for the constitution of *Panchayats* to exercise judicial powers, both in civil and criminal cases. These *Panchayats* will be composed of members of the Union Boards, and the powers given them are considerably wider than in the corresponding Acts in other provinces. In criminal cases they are empowered to impose fines amounting to Rs. 50, and in civil cases they have jurisdiction in suits

for recovery of money and movable property of a value of Rs.25 or less, though in special cases *Panchayats* may be empowered to decide such suits up to Rs.100 in value. In criminal cases the jurisdiction of the *Panchayat* is concurrent with that of the criminal court, but in civil cases the jurisdiction of the ordinary civil court is in some cases barred. The procedure laid down for the trial of cases before *Panchayats* is simple ; and no legal practitioners are allowed to appear. The Government of the United Provinces also drafted a Bill providing for increased powers of local self-government in rural areas. The main provisions related to the extension of the franchise, the conferment of powers of local taxation and the elimination of the official element. It provided also for the creation of Divisional Councils to be elected by the constituent Boards with the object of relieving both Government and the Boards of some of their respective powers and duties. In the Central Provinces village self-government was also stimulated by the passing of the Village Panchayat Act.

Problems in the Development of Local Self-Government.—The tendency at present is to make the District, *Taluk* and Union Boards entirely non-official, relaxing as much as possible the internal and external control which at present cramps their activities, while the grant of considerable powers of taxation should make them eventually financially independent. But many difficulties lie before them, and the remedy of further taxation is hardly a popular one. At present they are dependent mainly upon Government grants, and before their position can be pronounced satisfactory local sources of revenue must be expanded. The bulk of the income of Rural Boards is derived from a cess levied upon agricultural lands over and above the land revenue, and not usually exceeding $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the rent value or the land revenue, according to the circumstances of the provinces. Where a limit

has been imposed by law on the rate of cess, a Rural Board will be at liberty to vary the rate at which the cess is levied within the limits imposed by the law ; but, where no limit has been imposed, a change in the rate of cess will need the sanction of outside authority. Very important also for the future development of local self-government is the decision of the Government of India that if a Municipal or Rural Board has to pay for any service it should control it. But this growth of responsibility in local taxation and the realisation of local needs depends upon a widely extended suffrage. Just prior to the transfer of local self-government to the direction of the popularly elected ministers a comprehensive resolution of the Government of India, 1918, recommended that the franchise for election in Municipalities and Rural Boards should be sufficiently low to obtain constituencies really representative of the body of ratepayers. The necessity for this provision is revealed by the fact that the average electorate in Municipalities in India seems to represent only 6 per cent. of the population, and the electorate in District Boards only .6 per cent. The end to be kept in view before a full elective system, analogous to that obtaining in the West, can be achieved, is that some 16 per cent. of the population should be represented in the electorate, although it is recognised that so high a figure for the present is unattainable.

CHAPTER XII

THE *PANCHAYAT*

Origin and Functions.—No civic institution is more ubiquitous in India than the *Panchayat*, which is the Council of the Five, for the purpose of social government and local administration. The origin of the *Panchayat* is somewhat obscure. It seems that the institution grew out of the need of a periodical redistribution of holdings which prevailed among the rice-growing aboriginal inhabitants of India. Even now some vestiges of the old communism in property are traceable. Among some of the aboriginal tribes the custom of a periodical distribution of land, so that good and bad lands fall equally to one's lot, has survived. It is the village *Panch* that is the trustee of the community, even though it has outgrown the primal communism in property, and nothing is more characteristic of its functions throughout the country than the work of supervision over the co-operative irrigation of the village and the management of rural labour and husbandry.

A great contribution of the prehistoric inhabitants of India to her later civilisation is the *Panchayat*, presided over by the headman and supervising the economic management and social life of the village community. The institution has migrated far beyond its original abode, and, percolating through all the lower strata, has determined, not only the distribution of arable land and the unoccupied waste, but also the unquenchable system of caste government with all its ramifications. With the absorption of the earlier folk into the Hindu social system they were assigned a definite position in the whole scheme and given

autonomy within certain limits, and, as the tribes were transformed into castes, the caste *Panchayats* came to fill an important rôle. These are the descendants of the old *Kula Sabhas*, and in some parts of the South are still called *Kula Panchayats*. In almost all parts of India the caste *Panchayats* still command authority ; so that people often say that " God lives in the *Panchayat*," and the confessing offender addresses the Five as : " *Panchayat Ganga*, forgive my faults and purify me." It is, however, among the depressed and "untouchable" tribes and castes that the *Panchayat* shows itself most strong and alive.

Panchayats as Courts.—The domestic procedure of the *Panchayats* often has evoked admiration and surprise. The *Panchayat* hears every side of a case, often has men to advocate each side, and does not give judgment until the members are unanimous. Sometimes several sittings are necessary to obtain a unanimous decision in a complex and difficult case. In many *Panchayats* the headman is elected, and is dismissed if he is found wanting. Partiality will be a sufficient ground for dismissal after one sitting, otherwise his conduct is closely watched for two or more successive meetings before his position is ratified. The plaintiff, *badi*, and the accused, *pratibadi*, are each represented by the clerks, who are nominated in the meeting. Among the "untouchables" each party is asked to sign a paper or to take an oath that the truth and nothing but the truth will be told. In the *Panchayats* of the North a court fee of one and a quarter rupees usually is paid to the chairman, and tobacco and *hukka* furnished by the person who calls the council. Oath is taken over Ganges water or upon the plough or with a son in the lap. Unfortunately, when fines are levied, they are often spent for the purchase of spirits and the court rises in intoxication. Education is necessary to utilise these fines for social needs. Even now a certain percentage of the fines is set apart

in some parts of the country for special purposes, such as the hiring of lawyers when trials occur in Government courts, for the digging of a well or an irrigation channel, for the maintenance of a guest-house and temple, etc. ; objects for which, as we have seen, the common village funds usually are spent.

Panchayats in Combination.—The more important phase of indigenous village self-government is concerned with the *Panchayat* of the village, rather than caste occupation or guild. As the castes have their own *Panchayats*, with their extending circles of jurisdiction covering the caste-men of a whole locality or region, so the village *Panchayats* are often seen to be affiliated to large bodies. In Bihar the *Panchayat* is a permanent institution consisting of all the village elders, for the time being, of one or more villages of a local area who meet under the presidentship of a *Mandal*, when occasion requires. A number of *Mandals* are headed by a *Sardar*, who exercises jurisdiction over several *Panchayat* units. Again, several *Sardars*, sometimes as many as fourteen to twenty-two, are headed by a *Baisi Sardar*. The jurisdiction of a *Sardar* extends over fourteen to twenty-two units, and may consist of a whole *Pargana* or a couple of *Parganas*. In Orissa there is also an organised system of self-government for each caste. The headmen are called variously *Behara*, *Padhan*, *Thanapati*, who exercise authority over a single village or groups of two to six villages. Over them again are superior officials called *Mahantes*, *Sardar Beharas*, etc., with jurisdiction over large areas, e.g., fifty to sixty villages. In Bulandshahr every hundred villages or so has a *Muqaddam* which decides minor cases. In South India the *Nadus* or *Pattis*, which denote old tribal divisions of the Dravidians, still survive, and in some areas their assemblies under the hereditary headmen of the villages and chiefs or headmen in council can be traced.

Panchayat a Representative Body.—In most parts of India each of the different castes in the village community are represented in the *Panchayat*, and, though there is no formal election, it is usual to find that the men of mark in the villages have been chosen. In South Indian villages it is not unusual to find “untouchables” taking part in a discussion of the village assembly where their special assent is needed in such matters as the distribution of the shares of grain at each harvest among the village employees, the organisation of temple labour and festival processions, the worship of Mariamma, etc.

The *Panchayat* system is not so rigid as generally is supposed. Mixed *Panchayats* in which different castes and even the Muhammadans are represented are not unknown. Inter-communal conflicts which hinder the growth of nationality can be mitigated effectively by the institution and expansion of such mixed *Panchayats*. A country which contains so many heterogeneous stocks and exhibits so many deep-seated cultural differences among the various layers of its population can maintain social peace only by practising communal autonomy and non-interference with religious practice. Thus the solution of the Hindu-Muhammadan and non-Brahman questions will lie in communal autonomy and peaceful intercourse in non-social, non-religious matters which may be sanctioned by long usage.

Panchayat and Village Finance.—The *Panchayat* settles everything of common interest to the village, and the sources of its income differ according to the social and economic needs of the communities concerned. Usually the taxes and cesses that are levied, though unrecognised by the Government, are :
(1) Tax on bullock-carts which export rice and straw ;
(2) tax on looms ; (3) market fees ; (4) lease-money for the grazing of village cattle on the common lands ;
(5) house-to-house contribution of paddy ; (6) fees

on births, marriages and other auspicious ceremonies ; (7) fees levied on profits in trade, etc. In the villages in the South the *samudayam* lands are, however, the chief source of village income, though the cesses called *mahimai* are most varied. In Northern India *vritti*, *musthi-viksha* and *poushari* correspond to the *dharma-mahimai* of the Tanjore villages, for instance, while the *bhadradakshina* and *marvana* correspond to the marriage fees so well known in Malabar. In the Panjab the *kurhi-kamini*, which is collected in most villages and is paid by artisans and shopkeepers, that is, by non-cultivators only, resembles the tax on artisans frequently levied in the rural tracts of the South. Thus we find that there is a similarity in the system of rural and communal finance even as there is almost an identity in the procedure of the *Panchayat*. Wherever the village communities have withstood the tendencies of recent centralisation, these institutions have survived in their strength and vitality. Bengal and Rajputana, which are most feudal amongst the Indian provinces, have shown the least cohesiveness in their village system. On the other hand, the villages of clans and brotherhoods among the Jats, Gujjars and other agricultural tribes of the Panjab and the United Provinces, and the Munda-Dravidian folks of Central and South-Eastern India, still exhibit a good deal of solidarity of economic interests.

Foreign Rule and the *Panchayat*.—In Western India the superimposition of alien tribes on the settled agricultural population, as well as the revenue system of the Mahrattas and their administration of civil and criminal justice, have disintegrated the coparcenary communities even as the Moghul *jagirdari*, the Sikh *kardari*, or the British-Indian landlordism have over-ridden the rights of the village communities in the respective territories. In South India, where the Muhammadan rule has been least felt, the village assemblies, through the vicissitudes of centuries, have

shown the most elaborate structure and still exhibit great solidarity of interests. Here, in the South, these are the offspring of a happy union of the Indo-Aryan scheme with the old rural practice. Caste segregation, though associated with caste autonomy, is here stamped upon the internal constitution of the village, but the Aryan has given to it not merely the symbolism of the *Puranas* in the arrangement of village streets and temples, but also the cultural purpose to which the villager's life and daily work must minister.

Group Assemblies.—Besides these village *Panchayats* there are assemblies, as we have seen, of ten, twenty, or a hundred villages, though the unions of these villages and their vigour and resistance have depended upon particular political conditions and circumstances in the different provinces. In Northern India the *Para*, the *Mandal* and the *Pargana* and in the South the *Nadu* and the *Patti* represent such larger political units in which India could expand her rural democracy. And the remains of these organisations are still traceable. Indeed, on a close examination of rural boundaries and social divisions, we might almost come to the conclusion that village administration is of a strictly hierarchal character like caste-administration, though monarchical and republican forms survive as vestiges of the old tribal and feudal government.

Japanese Solution of Village Government.—It is these which the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford report looked for when they wanted to build up from the bottom on the indigenous foundation of *Panchayat* government. They were, however, not quite sure that a satisfactory scheme could be created out of the present uneven materials. The scattered survivals of assemblies of a group of villages justify us in elaborating a scheme of political evolution by integrating these into the substance of the new polity. In Japan the problem of village government has been solved by finding an intermediate unit which is large enough to

possess adequate resources to provide for local needs but is not so large as to obscure that personal interest without which local administration never can be a success. The Japanese system of grouping villages into larger divisions, each division and subdivision having its own headman, can be adapted easily to Indian conditions without interfering with the existing arrangements for collection of revenue. Education, sanitation, co-operation and irrigation will all be rendered more vital and vivifying, and there will be engendered an intelligent, active citizenship in the villages which is so much lacking to any scheme of local government superimposed from above.

NOTE

Education in Citizenship.—"It is by taking part in the management of local affairs that aptitude for handling the problems of government will most readily be acquired. This applies to those who administer, but even more to those who judge of, the administration. Among the clever men who come to the front in provincial politics, there will be some who will address themselves without more difficulty, and indeed with more interest and zeal, to the problems of government than to those of municipal and district board administration. But the unskilled elector, who has hitherto concerned himself neither with one nor the other, can learn to judge of things afar off only by accustoming himself to judge first of things near at hand. This is why it is of the utmost importance to the constitutional progress of the country that every effort should be made in local bodies to extend the franchise, to arouse interest in elections, and to develop local committees, so that education in citizenship may as far as possible be extended, and everywhere begin in a practical manner. If our proposals for changes on higher levels are to be a success, there must be no hesitation or paltering about changes in local bodies. Responsible institutions will not be stably rooted until they have become broad-based ;

and far-sighted Indian politicians will find no field into which their energies can be more profitably thrown than in developing the boroughs and communes of their country."

—(From *Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms*. By Edwin S. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford.)

CHAPTER XIII

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT AND ITS PROBLEMS

India's Tradition of Municipal Activities.—In ancient India the municipal bodies were classed under *Samuhas*. For the proper discharge of civic functions and the administration of the various interests of municipal life, an agreement was drawn up in writing forming the Memorandum or Articles of the Association, the members of which were bound to fulfil their legitimate part in promoting the manifold public works necessary for communal welfare. Deliberate violations of the agreement were punished severely, either by banishment or confiscation of property. Dr. Mookerji, in his *Local Government in Ancient India*, has shown how these municipalities addressed themselves, not only to the ordinary material interests of communal life, such as sanitation and water supply, but also to the interests of public and spiritual life by the provision of halls for public meetings and temples for public worship. They also organised the communal charities, which embraced not merely the secular relief of the poor in time of famine and other calamities (*kulāyana-nirodhaś ca*), but also their religious or spiritual ministrations, which included the performance of purifying rites for the destitute and poor, *viz.* arrangements for the cremation of dead paupers, distribution of gifts among persons desirous of performing religious acts, etc. Thus the sphere of the administration of Poor Law was widened so as to bring within its compass provision for the spiritual necessities in the life of the destitute as fixed by their *Sastras*. Br̥haspati includes financial support in aid of the idiot, the infirm, the blind, the orphan, the distressed, as also diseased persons and

women, among the legitimate purposes to which an association could apply its public fund. We should note also that the interests of strangers were not ignored. Much of the ancient traditions of municipal government are still preserved in the temple cities of Southern India with their *sabhas*, which supervise public works, sanitation and recreations. Not merely the temples, streets, and tanks, but also rest-rooms, discourse halls and markets, are looked after by the assemblies which meet periodically in the temple hall, which is the communal and sacred centre of the city. In Western India we still find cities with numerous groups of houses usually belonging to one community or caste. Each of these groups of houses, with its gates and temples, is an autonomous ward having its own watchman and its own sanitary arrangements. The money accruing from gifts, fines and the percentage on house property sales forms a common fund managed by the leaders, *seths*, of the ward. This is spent on repairs to the ward gate, ward privies or the ward well, or the maintenance of schools and orphanages of the communities concerned. In the Native States of Central India we find these indigenous institutions being assimilated to the new machinery of municipal government.

History of Modern Municipal Government in India.—The system of Municipal Administration now in vogue has not utilised the indigenous institutions and consequently is more or less alien to the spirit of the people. In the Presidency towns in the seventeenth century there were a Corporation and a Mayor's Court. The functions of the corporations were very largely judicial, but gradually they were entrusted with administrative duties and permitted to raise taxes within the municipal area. An Act was passed in 1842 for Bengal that embodied the earliest attempt to apply municipal institutions to towns in the country districts. The Act, however, was practically inoperative and was followed in 1850 by an Act applying to

the whole of India. Under this Act and subsequent Provincial Acts a large number of municipalities was formed in all provinces. The Acts provided for the appointment of commissioners to manage municipal affairs, and authorised the levy of various taxes, but in most provinces the commissioners were all nominated and, from the point of view of self-government, these Acts did not proceed far. It was not until after 1870 that much progress was made. Lord Mayo's Government, in their Resolution of that year introducing the system of provincial finance, referred to the necessity of taking further steps to bring local interests and supervision to bear on the management of funds devoted to education, sanitation, medicine, charity, and local public works. New Municipal Acts were passed for the various provinces between 1871 and 1874, which among other things extended the elective principle. In 1881-1882 Lord Ripon's Government issued orders which had the effect of greatly extending the principles of local self-government, and the general lines of these orders govern the administration of municipalities of the present day.

City Improvement Trusts.—There are various types of municipalities. In the great cities Improvement Trusts have been constituted to supplement the work of the municipalities. Thus, the outbreak of the plague in 1896 in Bombay harshly directed attention to the insanitary conditions arising from overcrowding ; and, since it was recognised that the task of effecting the required improvements was too great for the municipality, a special body termed the Trustees for the Improvement of the City of Bombay was appointed. It consists of fourteen members, of whom four are elected by the municipality and one each by the Chamber of Commerce, the Millowners' Association and the Port Trust, the balance being nominated by Government or sitting *ex officio* as officers of Government. The Board is presided over by a whole-time

chairman. The Calcutta Improvement Trust was instituted by Government in January, 1912, with a view to making provision for the improvement and expansion of Calcutta by opening up congested areas, laying out or altering streets, providing open spaces for purposes of ventilation or recreation, demolishing or constructing buildings, and rehousing the poorer and working classes displaced by the execution of improvement schemes. The origin of the Calcutta Improvement Trust, as in the case of the corresponding Bombay body, upon which the Calcutta Trust to a large extent was modelled, must be looked for in a medical inquiry which was instituted into the sanitary condition of the town in 1896 owing to the outbreak of plague. It was estimated that the Trust in the ensuing thirty years might have to provide for the housing of 225,000 persons. The population of Calcutta proper, which includes all the most crowded areas, was 649,995 in 1891, and by 1901 had increased to 801,251, or by 25 per cent. The corresponding figure, according to the 1911 census, was 896,067, and this had increased by 1921 to 993,508. Improvement Trusts are constituted also in Rangoon, Lucknow, Cawnpore and Allahabad, and in several other cities, and their operations now are conducted on a very large scale. A period of sanitary reform on a large scale has begun, but this unfortunately is characterised by mere slum demolition instead of house-building. This well-meant line of municipal action, so common throughout Europe and America during the past generation—and also among Indian municipalities within more recent years—has been on the whole disastrous, as increasing the very overcrowding, and its consequent diseases that were sought to be remedied. In many Indian towns positive house-famine has been created, essentially by a benevolent municipality, aided by subsidies from a no less well-intentioned Government. In Calcutta, the scarcity of house accommodation and

the abnormal increase in house rent induced the Trust to undertake several rehousing schemes, some of which are nearing completion. But the financial position of the Trust was seriously affected both by the fall in the value of money and the rise in the cost of building materials and in the rate of interest. The decision that the demolition of houses acquired in connection with improvement schemes should not be undertaken, so long as the persons who have been dis-housed find it impossible to rebuild at a reasonable price, also seriously hampered the operations of the Trust, since a considerable amount of capital spent in land acquisition is locked up unproductively instead of bringing remunerative rents or profits. Hence the activities of the Calcutta Improvement Trust during 1922 have been directed to the construction of main roads in the central part of the city in preference to the development of suburban areas.

Small Municipalities.—Nor are the prospects of the small municipalities any brighter. Some are overgrown villages in which the conditions are more rural than urban, and the local revenues are inelastic. Some are mill towns, inhabited mostly by wage-earners, where it is difficult to devise further forms of taxation ; others are large suburban towns in which a standard of administration similar to that of the metropolis is needed. The deadening weight of poverty tends to crush out all enthusiasm and enterprise in most of the *mofussil* municipalities. Thus the Report of Municipal Administration of the United Provinces observes : “ The financial position of many boards continues to be extremely unsatisfactory, not to say critical. A change in the system of taxation has in many cases led to a decline in revenue, while in all cases there has been a considerable increase in expenditure. At the same time there has been a demand, encouraging in itself, for the introduction of modern sanitary and lighting improvements, which in view of the state of the mar-

kets, and of the exchanges has proved extremely difficult for the boards to finance. Few of them are self-supporting in the sense that they can look forward to a future of development on modern lines without assistance from government." In the Report of Municipal Administration, Bengal, it is complained that schemes, which are broached with some eagerness and worked out in industrious detail, are indefinitely postponed and finally cease to possess interest or to generate hopes. And disappointment of this kind produces in the end apathy and stagnation. Municipal Administration offers an attractive field for the highest talent, and ideas can be given ample scope. Where the municipal income is not sufficient to deal with the insistent problems of disease, water supply, conservancy and education, all of which call for a vigorous policy of improvement, municipal administration becomes dreary and barren, and there is engendered a repugnance to self-taxation.

Higher Local Taxation Essential.—And yet the cost of providing for civic amenities, not to speak of the sanitary measures, and schemes of drainage and water-supply, has increased so much on account of the sudden expansion of population in some municipalities that higher local taxation is essential. Laxity in collection and the unwillingness of the municipal executive to adopt coercive measures for the realisation of their demand, lead to loss through the serious accumulation of arrears.

In Bengal the average incidence of taxation per head of population is at present Rs. 3 approximately. A truer idea of the incidence of taxation can be gained by considering the amount paid by the actual rate-payers, who number about one-sixth of the municipal population. According to this method the incidence comes to Rs. 17-14-1 per head, while those in the petty rural towns pay on the average about Rs. 22 each. Generally speaking, the incidence of municipal taxa-

tion in the Presidency compared with English standards is extremely low ; and, although the comparison cannot be pressed, it is certain that approximation to English standards in municipal needs and amenities cannot be attained until the widespread aversion from higher local taxation is overcome.

Municipal Problems—Plague.—The municipal problems in different provinces are diverse. Plague, influenza and malaria work their ravages everywhere, and call for vigorous policies of sanitation. In some provinces the problem of water supply is most insistent. For smaller municipalities, water supply schemes of a cheaper type based on artesian borings or tube wells, which are worked by oil-engines, may be more economical. In some municipalities the problem of overcrowding is the most serious and efforts are made to deal with it, though in a partial and fragmentary way for lack of funds. But it is the epidemics which are the most serious drawbacks to the life and prosperity of towns everywhere, and all provinces have their equal share of good and bad years in this respect. Till the recent outbreak of influenza in Bombay, the United Provinces and the Panjab, no disease had created so much widespread alarm and destruction as plague. It is estimated that over six million people have died of the plague since the beginning of the century, and the actual mortality is probably even greater. By 1911 the Panjab alone had lost two million persons by recorded deaths from plague. But the number of unrecorded deaths must have been large, probably quite 20 per cent. of those recorded. The disease was especially fatal to young women of child-bearing age, who for reasons of privacy were more likely to sleep indoors, and therefore to be bitten by plague-carrying vermin. The check to the increase of population in the country was greater, therefore, than the actual number of deaths would indicate. Madras, Burma, and Rajputana are the latest provinces

to become plague-infected. Plague made its appearance in Burma in 1905, but it was not until 1918 that Rajputana was attacked severely. It is noteworthy that these provinces are those where plague shows least signs of dying out. Humidity is an important factor in influencing persistence of plague. Thus, in Mysore, Central Madras and Lower Burma, where humidity remains constant throughout the year, plague persists throughout the off season. Improvements in housing conditions, measures of sanitation and the storage of grain in appointed places render the haunts of men a less comfortable home for the black rats that carry the infection. Thus, good housing and sanitation are the surest means of extirpating plague. In recent years town improvement schemes have been initiated in India, and experts have drawn up plans and specifications for houses which can be erected at reasonable cost and are not likely to be invaded by the rat. Such measures, however, involve long periods of time for their completion and are dependent upon the provision of funds and the extent to which the population at large are prepared to accept them. The erection of infectious disease hospitals outside the large cities has been limited in the past by various circumstances—inadequate funds, the scattered nature of the population, and the strong dislike of entering a hospital which is evinced by large numbers of the people. The evacuation of infected areas has been in the past the most popular of plague measures. To village folk, accustomed to an outdoor life and with their fields around them, it offers little hardship and is often resorted to spontaneously and with good results. In cities it is more difficult, and, when enforced, sometimes meets with serious opposition and requires careful organisation and control. Voluntary evacuation of cities, when uncontrolled, has too often taken the form of a stampede which carries the disease to other and uninfected areas.

Other Epidemic Diseases.—Not less virulent a disease is influenza, which broke out in an epidemic form in 1918 and left no part of India unvisited. It carried off 7,000,000 of the population, while its indirect effects are shown in the heavy fall in the birth-rates in 1919 and 1920, 32·98 per 1,000 against a quinquennial mean of 35·97. The incidence of cholera also is high, deaths totalling 560,802 in 1918 and 578,426 in 1919.

In some provinces malaria is endemic and there is an unusual amount of morbidity and mortality. The decennial mean for mortality from fevers is 4,979,432. In Bengal, during 1921, 1,070,368 deaths were returned under this heading, compared with 1,144,421 in 1920, representing a death-rate of 23·0 against the quinquennial average of 23·7. Malaria once ravaged all Western Europe, and still remains unconquered in the European East. The decline of Greece and Rome, and the backwardness common at many points of the otherwise flourishing Mediterranean region to this day, are traced to malaria by many. There is no doubt that the deterioration of Bengal is due largely to malaria. Bengal of late is showing an alarming fall in the birth-rate, in 1920 the rate per 1,000 being 30 against the quinquennial mean of 49·9. In Assam the *kalazar* seems to have obtained a permanent home and has checked agricultural operations in infected districts. Smallpox is also rife in the country, deaths totalling 101,329 in 1923.

Municipal Sanitation.—All these diseases require the provision of better sanitary conditions and pure water supplies. More vigorous preventive measures should be taken to check the spread of epidemics. Medicines and disinfectants should be distributed freely as far as possible, and special doctors appointed. Lantern lectures might be given in municipalities to instruct the working folk in the general principles of public and personal hygiene. In the case of smallpox, there is need of an increase of vaccination staff and of a more

vigorous vaccination campaign. To prevent fevers, more vigorous measures should be taken in the municipalities for the improvement of sanitation by filling or cleaning insanitary tanks, ditches, pools and puddles, by removing jungle and noxious vegetation, by providing better drainage for the rivers and *nullahs* and by the destruction of mosquitoes. The water hyacinth presents an acute problem in some parts of the country and measures for its eradication are necessary. Apart from comprehensive housing and town-planning schemes, many of the direct and immediate measures for fighting with disease cannot now be undertaken for want of funds and civic initiative. The insistent nature of such problems of sanitation is shown by the lower life expectation in India as compared with other countries, and the far higher death-rates both in towns and in the country districts.

				Average Life Expectation.
New Zealand	..	..	..	68
England	..	..	..	41
India	..	..	..	33

The above figures supply the main explanation of the enormous contrast of wealth between India and the West. Up to eighteen or twenty or even thirty-three years, how small must be the economic return of the few working years over the consumption of the years of learning and growth? How much greater would be the return were the life prolonged, say, to an average of fifty years?

NOTES

Modern Idea of Municipal Progress.—The following extract from Zueblin's *American Municipal Progress* gives us some of the elements of progress usually recognised by students of society :

“Already this century witnessed the first municipalised

street railways and telephones in American cities ; a national epidemic of street paving and cleaning ; the quadrupling of electric lighting service and the national appropriation of display lighting ; a successful crusade against dirt of all kinds—smoke, flies, germs—and the diffusion of constructive provisions for health like baths, laundries, comfort stations, milk stations, school nurses and open air schools ; fire prevention ; the humanising of the police and the advent of the police-women ; the transforming of some municipal courts and institutions for the prevention of crime and the cure of offenders ; the elaboration of the school curriculum to give every child a complete education from the kindergarten to the vocational course in school or university or shop ; municipal reference libraries ; the completion of park systems in most large cities and the acceptance of the principle that the smallest city without a park and playground is not quite civilised ; the modern playground movement giving organised and directed play to young and old ; the social centre ; the democratic art museum ; municipal theatres ; the commission form of government ; the city manager ; home rule for cities ; direct legislation—a greater advance than the whole nineteenth century compassed.”

France's First City-Planning Law.—Under the French planning law passed last March cities and communes of more than 5,000 inhabitants, within three years of the promulgation of the law, must have plans formulated concerning (1) the direction, width, and location of highways, extent and plan of squares, public spaces, reserve lands, building sites, etc. ; (2) a program for the hygienic, archæological, and æsthetic servitudes, the height of buildings, provisions for drinking water, sewers, waste, etc. Any settlement destroyed by a catastrophe, such as fire or earthquake, may not be restored until the plans have been approved by the commission. A departmental planning commission is composed of local bodies in charge of hygiene, natural sites, etc., and of four mayors appointed by the state. This commission advises on (1) municipal schemes, (2) derogations from the general planning principles, (3) incidental æsthetic or hygienic servitudes and other matters. A superior planning commission of thirty members created

by the Ministry of the Interior establishes planning rules and regulations and gives advice on schemes referred to it. A plan must be submitted (1) to examination by the municipal council; (2) to a preliminary hearing; (3) to the examination of the departmental planning commission. The municipal council then gives its decision on the plan, after which the state council or other authority gives its final approval.—(Frank Backus Williams, *National Municipal Review*, October, 1919.)

CHAPTER XIV

EDUCATION

Position of Education in India.—In pre-British times the higher classes of India supplied the administrative body, whatever the nationality of the rulers. With the introduction of British rule such classes claimed to continue their hereditary careers, and there was a demand for that kind of education which could train them for posts under the Government. In pursuance of old and established traditions, many of the middle or professional classes, which eagerly sought higher education, demanded that it should be of a literary character, and were averse from, if not disdainful to, anything that savoured of manual labour. Moreover, when the new education was introduced in India, the idea of scientific and technical education had not dawned upon English universities. It also was tacitly assumed that Western education, once imparted to the higher classes of India, would permeate gradually the whole population. In the event it has been distributed unevenly among the higher classes themselves, the agricultural community as a whole, until very recently, having been backward in taking advantage of educational facilities. Indeed as the Calcutta University Commission has shown, some of the most difficult factors of the present situation could have been avoided if steps had been taken in good time to prevent the wide separation which has occurred between the educated minority and the illiterate majority. From the economic point of view India has been handicapped by the want of professional and technical instruction. Throughout India the prospects of technological training in all grades have

been neglected, and to this we owe our industrial backwardness, as also the predilection of our intelligentsia for clerical occupations and the professions, to the neglect of the productive pursuits of life. The Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University said in his second convocation address in 1920 : " The economic pressure on the Bhadraklok, however, has succeeded in working the needed change in mind and temper, and for the last ten years it would be correct to say that it is the dearth or absence of opportunity for studying technological and agricultural courses in the University that has maintained the dominance of the purely literary or legal studies therein rather than the absence of a disposition on the part of our young men to avail themselves of such opportunities. If we add to this the more or less exclusive pursuit of the literary vocation by the higher castes—a pursuit which has dominated the educational outlook of India—we can easily understand the persistence of the exclusively bookish tradition in all grades of instruction."

New Programme for Secondary Schools—The Mysore Memorandum.—The programme in secondary schools has been sought from time to time to be reformed in different provinces, and such subjects as everyday science, manual arts and training, formerly neglected, now are forming parts of the curriculum, so as to give a more practical bent and a more varied character to the educational system.

The recent memorandum on primary and secondary education, published by the Mysore Government, is remarkable for the breadth and clearness with which its authors have expressed their views with regard to the polytechnic type of school. The essential features of the new scheme of educational organisation are :

- (1) A system of kindergarten in the primary schools.
- (2) Agricultural education in the rural middle schools, with an alternative industrial course in the urban middle schools ; or, as a modification, training

in agriculture and one industry in the rural middle schools and two industries in the city middle schools.

(3) Provision for a three years' course in industries or agriculture as optional within the curriculum, combined with general education in the high schools.

(4) Specialised technical schools for more advanced courses, as well as continuation classes for adult workmen. The educational organisation in the primary and secondary grades of instruction here represents a new departure that has important lessons for educationalists throughout India, who all are planning to develop a system of primary and secondary education which will combine literary education with industrial training in all grades. Much of the educational backwardness of England has been attributed to the neglect of science and vocational education in the lower grades, and both Germany and America for the last two or three decades, have been serving as models throughout the world for the introduction of vocational courses as alternatives or optionals in general schools and continuation classes for the workers. This forms, indeed, the chief feature of modernised secondary education even in Japan and the Philippines. It should be noted in this connection that compulsory education without adequate provision for vocational instruction may do more harm than good.

It thus will be the task of secondary schools to continue education on vocational lines, so that the student may earn his living without a subsequent long course of special training in polytechnic institutions and workshops. The introduction of music, marching drill and country games, as well as of hygiene, village sanitation, sick nursing and domestic economy, are among other excellent features of proposed curricula for secondary education in some provinces.

Educational Problem of the Depressed Classes.—A problem more pressing, more imperative, is the

education of the depressed classes. In the South there are the Panchamas, while in the North the Nama-Sudras, Chamars, Doms and other similar classes are depressed ; but the cultural disparity is less marked in the North, the lack of social and economic opportunity being less emphasised. The solution can come only with the rise of a new social conscience that will restore the balance between worth or service and responsibility in the social hierarchy, the economic uplift of the masses, and a rise in their standard of comfort and of activities with new social opportunities. All this implies a new public morality in the matter, and educational organisation in the secondary or university grade, while it can to some extent lead or help to form this morality, will very largely have to follow it. More useful and vivifying than State agencies of education are private civic and social organisations for the education of the depressed classes, which evoke and unite the sacrifices of educational dreamers and idealists, who will prepare the State for educational initiatives and experiments that will be no longer in advance of public opinion.

Importance of Vocational Education.—Efficient vocational education should form an integral part, not merely of secondary schools, but also of Intermediate Colleges, which now are being started in different parts of the country. This alone, it is urged, can check the purely literary bias, both in the university and outside. Thus vocational classes have been opened by some Intermediate Colleges, and the instruction includes wood-working, metal-working, electrical work, printing and the textile industries. The typical trades, arts and handicrafts of the particular regions or centres should receive special emphasis.

Practical Agricultural Teaching.—The introduction of agricultural instruction in the colleges is of surpassing importance to the welfare of the country, but this has not yet attracted sufficient attention. It is

mainly because the agriculture taught by colleges is "book agriculture," and not of a practical and vocational character, that it arouses little interest. The class work in the colleges should be supplemented by laboratory work, field demonstration and farm practice. The "accredited farm" system of Wisconsin, California or of Pennsylvania shows the right method. As with art and industries, the agricultural courses in the colleges should be adapted to the specific agricultural needs and possibilities of the different regions.

Municipal Universities.—In England the universities of the new type chartered within the last few years are all municipal. They are: Birmingham, Bristol, Leeds, Liverpool, London (reorganised), Manchester and Sheffield. These civic institutions had their origin in an endeavour to "raise the intellectual level of the towns" in which they were placed. But, situated as they are in the centre of England's commercial and industrial life, and confronted by an intense desire of the students and the people for greater efficiency in these activities, they immediately widened their scope and became strongly technological. In the United States of America every Western State has its university, which is not only in its purpose civic, but also in its support public. Beyond this cities have made provision of a like character. The University of Chicago, for instance, occupies a unique position with reference to higher education in the Middle West. Upon it rests largely the responsibility of maintaining and extending graduate work of the highest type, and the ultimate establishment of professional schools on a graduate basis. On the other hand, its location in a great city throws upon the University the obligation to provide for undergraduate teaching. It is the aim of the University to fulfil both these functions with fidelity to the best standards, and without sacrificing either task to the other.

University Extension Lectures and social settlement work are among the other distinctive features of this University, originating in the special needs, opportunities and responsibilities of its situation in the midst of a great agglomeration of the population.

Regional College Courses.—An essential feature of our new educational programme ought to be to survey the existing industrial resources and possibilities, as well as the existing occupations—agricultural, industrial and professional ; and then training appropriate to the development and maintenance of the latter can be introduced into the college scheme. The separation of industrial and academic subjects has shown its limitations ; and the present plan of teaching every subject in every college without the slightest reference to the needs and opportunities of the particular environment is responsible in large measure for our educational futilities. Economics and ethics, technology and art, can be “ live studies ” only if they address themselves to the local tasks and problems of poverty and welfare, and the ordering, enhancement and beautification of regional and civic life.

PART III

CIVIC POLITICS AND PROBLEMS

CHAPTER XV

PUBLIC HEALTH

Increase of Population in Cities.—There are some insistent social evils which are becoming increasingly manifest in our cities. Such evils have their roots in the sudden increase of population and consequent overcrowding and insanitation. In the last fifty years Calcutta has shown an increase of population of nearly 25 per cent. Bombay also has increased by nearly 83 per cent. Some of the smaller industrial centres have shown a more phenomenal increase within a very short period. Thus, Bhadreswar has increased twice, Tittagarh thrice and Kharagpur five times from 1901 to 1911. The population of Kanchrapara and Halishahar is now greater by 31·5 per cent. than it was in 1911. Champdani has been formed out of parts of Baidyalati and Bhadreswar during the last decade. The population of these together has increased by 40·9 per cent, during this period, and industrial centres will continue to increase in population more rapidly in these years, with a corresponding increase of hygienic, social and moral dangers. A sure index of deterioration is offered by the higher general and infantile mortality in the cities than in the villages.

Child Mortality in India.—The rates of child mortality in India are even more appalling. It has been calculated that every year no fewer than 2,000,000

Death-rate per 1,000.

PROVINCES.	In Municipalities and Towns.		In Districts, excluding Towns.		Total.	
	Mean for last Five Years.	1921.	Mean for last Five Years.	1921.	Mean for last Five Years.	1921.
Delhi	Not available	35.67	48.18	26.30	48.0	31.24
Bengal	26.0	25.8	31.7	30.5	31.3	30.1
Bihar and Orissa	35.4	31.7	39.8	32.8	39.6	32.8
Assam	28.47	23.85	36.33	26.53	36.17	26.48
United Provinces	49.57	46.97	45.42	39.05	45.74	39.57
Panjab	37.36	33.46	39.09	29.76	38.92	30.13
N.W.F. Province	34.07	31.78	34.00	31.56	34.85	31.59
C.P. and Berar	49.96	48.69	52.63	43.52	52.39	44.01
Madras Presidency	31.8	24.9	27.5	19.5	28.0	20.2
Coorg	47.41	43.66	35.30	27.70	35.99	28.56
Bombay Presidency	47.28	34.84	44.15	23.89	41.66	26.00
Burma, Lower ..	40.89	35.51	26.66	20.09	28.50	22.06
" Upper	47.80	35.67	28.91	18.97	30.55	20.43
Ajmere Merwara	Not available				60.78	28.41
British India ..	39.7	33.31	38.0	30.33	38.2	30.59

Indian babies die, while many others survive only to be enfeebled by unhygienic surroundings during infancy. The infant mortality-rate for all India is 197·9 ; but in Central Provinces and Berar this rises to 279·5.

Infantile Death-rate (India and Europe)
per 1,000.

			1921
Bengal	..	..	206·1
Bihar and Orissa	..	..	191·4
Assam	..	..	188·5
United Provinces of Agra and Oudh	..	..	265·8
Panjab	..	..	191·6
Central Provinces and Berar			279·5
Madras Presidency	..	..	166
Bombay Presidency		..	178·1
Burma	..	..	172
India	..	..	197·9
France	..	..	166
Great Britain..	..	..	83
Denmark	..	..	138
Sweden	..	..	100
Norway	..	..	104
Ireland	..	..	97

Eighteen districts in Bengal recorded an infantile death-rate of over 200 per 1,000. In the United Provinces the infant mortality-rate is 213 for rural tracts and 300 for urban areas per 1,000 births. Dr. Newsholme observes : " Infant mortality is the most sensitive index we possess of social welfare and sanitary administration, especially under urban conditions. A heavy infant mortality implies a heavier death-rate up to 5 years of age ; and right up to adult life the districts suffering from a heavy child mortality have higher death-rates than the districts whose

infant mortality is low. A careful study of the death-rate in England and Wales, during the last 50 years, leaves it doubtful whether any appreciably greater selection or 'weeding out' is exercised by a heavier than by a lighter infant mortality. Any such effect, if it exists, is concealed behind the overwhelming influence exercised by the evil environment to which children are exposed in districts of high infant mortality. It is strictly correct therefore to say, that a high infant mortality implies a high prevalence of the conditions which determine national inferiority."

The infantile death-rates for cities in India and those in Europe are given below for comparison. There cannot be any doubt that this appalling child mortality is one of the main defects of our life, one of the main causes of its mental depression through heart-breaking sorrows, mostly all unnecessary, and largely also of the great poverty into which India has sunk. It is a problem, first, because of its magnitude. It is a needless sacrifice of human life, a needless misery. It is a problem, in the second place, because it is an index of the general environmental conditions which make for deterioration.

Infantile Death-rate (Cities) per 1,000.

			1921
Bombay	..	..	667
Cawnpore	..	..	580
Nagpur	..	..	358
Calcutta	..	..	330
Ahmedabad	..	..	348
Rangoon	..	..	322
Benares	..	..	319
Lucknow	..	..	331
Howrah	..	..	284
Madras	..	..	281.9
Karachi	..	..	270
London	..	(for 1916)	89

Infantile Death-rate (Cities) per 1,000—contd.

Boston	..	(for 1915)	104
			1921
Birmingham	..	..	183
Manchester	..	..	111
Liverpool	..	..	117
Stockholm	..	..	82
Port Sunlight			
(garden village)		(for 1914)	78

In Bombay and Cawnpore more than half the number and in Nagpur, Ahmedabad, Calcutta, Rangoon, Lucknow, Benares and Madras nearly one out of three children die within a year of their birth. In industrial towns in England only one out of ten children die in the same period. The sanitarians in the West during the last fifteen years alone have lowered the figures from 132 to 83 per 1,000; and this from figures which, for industrial slums, etc., were less than three generations ago as bad as those of India. Indeed, measures of child-care, even with our present knowledge, are found to reduce child mortality not simply to half or a quarter but far lower, and also to bring with them an improvement in the relatively vigorous children who formerly survived.

In those wards of cities which are inhabited by the lower middle and labouring classes, the infantile mortality is much greater than the averages for the whole city. Child massacre is a common and long-established tradition in these kingdoms of Kansa, as we may call them.

Infantile Mortality by Wards (per 1,000 Births).

			1921	1923
Bombay City	..	..	667	411
Market	..	..	995·6	419
Mandvi	..	..	800·5	521
Byculla	..	..	725·7	548

Infantile Mortality by Wards (per 1000 Births)—contd.:

Bombay City— <i>contd.</i> :			
		1921	1923
Chukla .. ..	..	677·3	410
Sewri .. ..	..	665·9	462
Kamathapura ..	..	649·5	406
Bhuleshwar ..	..	642·8	429
Second Nagpada ..	..	623·8	521
Calcutta City .. ..	..	330	287
Lucknow City .. ..	..	—	284·9
Yahiaganj .. ..	..	—	308·8
Daulatganj .. ..	..	—	268·7
Wazeerganj .. ..	..	—	304·3
Saadatganj .. ..	..	—	283·2
Hazratganj .. ..	..	—	285·6
Chauk .. ..	..	—	290·1
Hassanganj .. ..	..	—	239·3
Ganeshganj .. ..	..	—	267·7
Hospitals .. ..	..	—	157·9
Allahabad City :			
Civil Lines .. ..	..	234·2	—
Katra .. ..	..	304·6	—
North Kotwali ..	..	292·9	—
South Kotwali ..	..	261·3	—
Muthiganj .. ..	..	336·01	—
Daraganj .. ..	..	323·2	—
Birmingham City :			
			1922
Central Ward .. ..	..	—	105
Market Hall .. ..	..	—	117
Middle Ring .. ..	..	—	77
Outer Ring .. ..	..	—	61
Harborne .. ..	..	—	42
London Slum Area ..	..	—	240

In Calcutta the infantile mortality-rate, calculated

on the number of births registered, was 330 in 1921, a considerable improvement on 1920, when it reached 386 per 1,000. In 1920 birth registration was defective. The following summary shows the wards with high infantile mortality-rates, the birth-rates also being given :

Infantile Mortality in certain Calcutta Wards (per 1,000 Births).

Ward.	1920.		1921.		1922.	1923.
	Birth-rate.	Infantile Mortality.	Birth-rate.	Infantile Mortality.	Infantile Mortality.	Infantile Mortality.
Jorabagan ..	11·4	628	10·3	657	400	459
Kalinga ..	10·1	617	11·0	538	374	435
Fenwick Bazar	5·2	786	7·1	486	437	420
Jorasanko ..	16·4	428	13·1	481	313	319
Sukea Street..	19·1	401	13·4	481	329	278
Kidderpore ..	21·8	582	20·4	465	342	377

Death-rate, Male and Female.—In all countries in the world the male death-rate exceeds the female death-rate. In Switzerland, Germany and Great Britain the female death-rate is only about 88 per cent. that of the male. This is due to the fact that the females are less exposed to the trials and dangers of life. In the province of Bengal, for instance, the female death-rate is less, being 31 per 1,000 as against 34 among males. In the cities, however, the ratios are inverted.

The following table shows the death-rate per 1,000 by sex and age in Calcutta and the province :

Age Period.	Calcutta Rate, 1921.		Provincial Rate, 1909.	
	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.
Years.				
I- 5	58·9	57·0	37	12
5-10	16·6	16·5	14	17
10-15	14·6	11·8	10	11
15-20	24·0	11·3	20	17
20-30	25·5	14·0	21	19
30-40	25·0	18·4	22	22
40-50	28·8	26·7	24	27
50-60	37·7	42·8	35	44
60 and over	177·5	124·5	58	77

At 15-20 years the female death-rate in Calcutta is more than double the male death-rate, while in Bengal province the difference (20-17) is not so sharp.

In 1920, the death-rate among females in Lucknow, 41·1, was much higher than that among males, which was 36·5. The age incidence in deaths in Lucknow is shown below :

	Females.	Males.
15-20 years	244	104
20-30 years	605	302

From the age of 10 in all age periods the death-rate amongst females in the cities is much higher than amongst males ; while in the provinces the male death-rate is generally higher, as in other countries of the world. When we remember this and compare the Calcutta rates with those recorded in England, where, at all ages from 5 to 56 years, the death-rate amongst females is directly lower than amongst males, one

realises the truth of Professor Patrick Geddes's indictment of Calcutta as "matricidal."

Purdah System a Cause of Insanitary Housing.—The causes of this inversion of the normal ratios of mortality amongst males and females are obvious. In the city, the effect of insanitary housing must tell more upon the health of the females than upon the males, and especially so because the *purdah* system is much more rigid and exacting than in the villages, and not only involves the constant exposure of women to insanitary conditions, but also leads actually to the construction of ill-lighted and ill-ventilated buildings to secure privacy to the *zenana*. The court-yard house is the type that is uniformly in vogue in the main portion of Calcutta. The reasons for the adoption of this type of building with the open *uthan* in the middle for scouring utensils, throwing filth and refuse, etc., are intimately connected with the *purdah* system, but its effect obviously has been to encourage a form of construction in which ventilation is practically non-existent.

Apart from the dangers due to the strain of repeated child-bearing and prolonged lactation in tender age, and of ignorant midwifery, the ill-ventilated and insanitary houses with the court-yards in the middle, and the latrines and drains in the vicinity of the water-tank and kitchen for the exclusive use of women, and the social conventions prohibiting exercises in the pure air outside the precincts of the congested slums and dwellings, bear responsibility for the greater mortality amongst females. As a result of a variety of causes, more economic than social, such as premature motherhood, poverty and excessive work, ignorant midwifery, insanitary dwellings, want of pure air and healthy exercises, maternal deaths in Calcutta amount to 1 in every 40, as compared with the average rate from 1 to 2 in every 1,000 in England.

Tuberculosis in Indian Cities.—The effect of constant exposure to insanitary surroundings, or, in other words, the result of adhering to the *purdah* system in the slums of a large city, is shown also by the heavy incidence of tuberculosis amongst girls and young women. Bombay is not so much responsible on this account as are Lucknow, Allahabad, Hyderabad and Calcutta.

TUBERCULOSIS

Death-rate per 1,000 in 1921 (Both Sexes, All Ages).

Bombay City	..	..	..	1·26
Calcutta	..	..	..	2·3
Lucknow	..	..	..	4·45
Allahabad	..	..	..	3·37
Hyderabad	..	..	..	4·05
Agra	..	..	..	3·02
Bengal Presidency	..	..	..	0·1
Bombay Presidency	..	..	..	0·85
United Provinces	..	..	..	0·1
London..	..	..	..	1·44

Male and Female Rates Compared.

			Calcutta.	Bombay.
Females only	..	..	3·7	1·02
Males only	..	..	1·8	·41
Average	..	..	2·4	·62

The following "black list" gives the wards of Calcutta with high mortality rates:

Death-rates (Both Sexes, All Ages).

	1919	1920	1921
Beniapookar	.. 2·5	.. 3·6	.. 4·5
Coolootollah	.. 2·4	.. 2·0	.. 3·7
Ballygunge and Tollygunge	.. 2·1	.. 3·3	.. 1·3
Jorabagan	.. 2·4	.. 2·8	.. 2·9
Bhowanipore	.. 1·9	.. 2·7	.. 2·1
Jorasanko	.. 2·7	.. 2·6	.. 2·6
Entally	.. 2·3	.. 2·5	.. 3·4

As the following statement shows, the heaviest mortality occurs among girls and young women :

Age Group.	Death-rate.	
	Males.	Females.
	Per 1,000.	Per 1,000.
10-15 years	·43	1·9
15-20 years	1·4	6·5
20-30 years	1·8	6·7
30-40 years	2·5	5·2

For every boy or young man that dies of tuberculosis, between four and five girls and young women die of the veritable "white plague."

Medical Views on Tuberculosis.—Tuberculosis, in the view of Dr. C. Muthu, is a main symptom of general social deterioration which can be dealt with by a policy of reconstruction only, rural and urban together. It is due to artificial disease conditions produced by man in the city environment. Nature fights hard against the disease until the crime of man is too great. Thus tuberculosis prevails more among women who live indoors in Rangoon than among men, and more among women than among men in the cities of Northern India where the *purdah* prevails. The Panjab is comparatively less affected because of the nutrition in *atta* and *dal*, while in Madras and Bengal the use of white rice has been a great drawback. Fresh air, nutritious food and sunlight can reduce tuberculosis as well as it has reduced child mortality. Indeed, the increase of the old-fashioned Indian resources of verandah and *chabutra*, and the recovery of the good old habit of living, cooking and sleeping as far as possible in the open air, with far less use of rooms than our present unhygienic habits

have accustomed us to, are the only radical measures with which to fight tuberculosis. Obviously, one of the prime causes of tuberculosis is bad housing. In the case of females, owing to the *pardah* system, it is not merely bad housing, it is more or less strict seclusion in the worst rooms of insanitary houses. This is inevitable where the *pardah* system is retained in a congested city. The Health Officer of Calcutta remarks: "It is difficult to secure absolute privacy in narrow streets and gullies without light and air. The *zenana* is almost invariably in the inner portion of the house, ill-lighted and ventilated, but effectually screened against observation." The effects are more serious when the tenements are five or six storeys high. Women, and especially delicate mothers, cannot climb up and down the stairs, and consequently stay indoors in the upper storeys and lose their health. Another great factor in the case of females is early marriage, which subjects immature young girls to the strain of repeated pregnancy and prolonged periods of lactation. With a series of epidemics of influenza associated with grave pulmonary complications there is bound to be not only a general weakening of the powers of resistance, but also local damage to the respiratory organs. These act in a variety of ways. Already-infected persons die more rapidly. Latent infections light up; doses of infection, which would be destroyed by the protective mechanism of a healthy body, readily produce the disease.

Respiratory Diseases.—In 1921 mortality from respiratory diseases increased from 7·9 to 11·3 per thousand in Calcutta. In the following wards the mortality rates were considerably above the general rate for the city. Since the heavy mortality from respiratory diseases is intimately associated with the prevalence of influenza, both death-rates are given on next page for comparison.

Ward.	Respiratory Diseases. Per 1,000.	Influenza. Per 1,000.
Kidderpore ..	21·3	3·4
Watgunge ..	13·6	1·6
Hastings ..	12·6	·7
Entally ..	10·2	·48
Beniapookar ..	10·0	·36

Compared with 1920, an enormous improvement has occurred in Kidderpore, the mortality having fallen from 35·6 per 1,000 to 21·3 per 1,000.

The heavy incidence in suburban wards shows clearly that the poor *busti*-dweller, ill-clad and poorly-fed, living in a damp hut which is a poor protection against changes of temperature, is particularly susceptible. Overcrowding and defective ventilation play an important part, particularly in the cold weather when an unreasoning dread of "night air" leads to rags being stuffed into all openings which cannot be closed otherwise. So greatly is night air feared that the nose and mouth and often the entire head is smothered in wrappings. The average death-rate in Manchester slums is roughly double that of the whole city, while from the pulmonary diseases the slum death-rate is four or five times the average for the city for these diseases. One area dealt with under Liverpool's slum clearing scheme had its death-rate from consumption reduced from 4 per 1,000 to just over 1 per 1,000 in two or three years after rehousing.

In 1920, in Lucknow, the mortality from diseases of the respiratory organs was the highest on record, being 15·1 per 1,000, which is the same as the death-rate of London from all causes; but Bombay and

Ahmedabad exceeded Lucknow's record in 1921 and the mortality from respiratory diseases in those towns is 18.69 and 16.47 respectively. The ratio of deaths from phthisis in Lucknow is distributed as follows :

Saadatganj	..	..	..	5.8
Daulatganj	..	..	..	5.2
Chauk	..	..	..	5.04
Wazirganj	..	..	..	4.47
Yahiaganj	..	..	..	4.27

The following table shows how the heavy incidence of infantile mortality and deaths from respiratory diseases is connected with overcrowding and defective ventilation in the slum areas of Lucknow :

Ward.	Density per Acre.	No. of Structural Houses in Circle.	Number of Per- sons per Structural House.	Average Number of Persons in Family.
Yahiaganj ..	15	13,288	3.3	5.2
Chauk ..	97	7,723	2.5	5.0
Wazirganj ..	29	13,058	2.7	4.2
Saadatganj ..	19	8,116	2.3	4.0
Daulatganj ..	16	9,416	2.4	4.0
Ganeshganj ..	65	11,378	2.6	3.9
Hassanganj ..	7	6,119	2.1	3.4
Hazratganj ..	15	8,891	2.5	3.4

A comparison of death-rates due to respiratory

diseases and from all causes in different cities will show the appalling nature of the problem in India :

City.	From Respiratory Diseases. 1921	From All Causes. 1921
Lucknow ..	15.31	40.8
Ahmedabad ..	16.47	37.31
Delhi	15.17	37.54 (1920)
Calcutta ..	11.3	35.0
Bombay ..	18.69	35.0
Jubbulpore ..	14.15	61.64 (1920)
London Slum Area	6.10	16.2
Madras	6.7	39.5

The case of the poor *busti*-dweller, already referred to, affords particularly convincing proof that bad housing (especially in cities imperfectly drained and subject to flooding in the rainy season), overcrowding and want of fresh air, are most serious factors in lowering human resistance to the ubiquitous germs of bacterial disease.

CHAPTER XVI

HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES

Housing of Labour in India.—Indian industrial labour consists of a floating, immigrant population, and the characteristic problems to which it has given rise have been noted already. In India, as elsewhere, towns have been allowed to be built without reference to any plan or to the possibilities of industrial development and expansion of population in the future. In Bombay the early builders were short-sighted enough to allow cotton mills to be erected on what now has become the very heart of the city where there is not an inch of elbow-room. Thus, the number of rooms per family in Bombay is 1, as against 2 rooms in France and Belgium, 3 in Germany and even 4 or 5 in England and Wales and the United States. In Calcutta, Cawnpore and Ahmedabad expansion was allowed to proceed without reference to the location of factories, railways, rivers or dockyards. This has led to terrible congestion, the effects of which tell most disastrously on the health and morality of the labouring population. In the great coal-mining centres there is no attempt on the part of the establishments to tackle the difficult question of housing the operatives, who live in filthy, dingy huts, where manhood is brutalised, womanhood dishonoured, and childhood poisoned at the source.

It is estimated that in a slum a child loses at least 4 inches in height and 11 lbs. in weight as compared with a normal baby. It spends half its time in sleep, and its growth and health are affected by living always indoors. In the *bustis* in the mill towns and mining centres the size of a single room is often found to be

5 ft. by 5 ft. by 5 ft., the door being a small hole $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. by 1 ft. There are long stretches of unsightly huts which never see the light of day and are honey-combed with cellars containing thousands of men, women and children, who are huddled together with dogs and chickens. Water supply is inadequate and sanitary arrangements are non-existent. Rent is high and the congestion is so terrible that there can be no decency. Among many of the industrial labourers cleanliness is seldom practised. Thus, the Panchamas and the Moplas of the South and the aboriginal Dravidians of Chota Nagpur and the Central Provinces and in the mines and plantations of Bengal are notorious for their filthy habits. Drink, disease and vice find here congenial soil. Liquor shops are situated too near the labourers' quarter, while hospitals are too distant. Thus the seed-plots of disease and debauchery yield a rich harvest of human wreckage.

Municipal Indifference to Housing.—There are no adequate municipal regulations regarding accommodation or sanitation in *chawls* and *bustis*. Edinburgh has lowered the municipal building limit to three storeys, above which height no flats or tenements are to be constructed. In Indian cities we have no such limits. How many stairs would delicate mothers climb without straining themselves? No one has thought about it; no one has cared; thus, in our high buildings they stay at home regardless of health. In Calcutta the buildings are twice the height of British slums, commonly but two storeys in height. While the British slums are provided with a street system comparable in Calcutta with the small Park Street area, there are at least twenty-two blocks in Calcutta, covering three miles, which are served internally by dark, tortuous, blind lanes. There are also in England regulations against building back-to-back flats or tenements such as

represent the rule in the structure of the Bombay *chawls*.

Housing by Mill Authorities.—In some of the jute mills outside Calcutta limits, housing is provided for a proportion of their imported labour by the mill authorities, because there is not sufficient accommodation for these workers in the neighbouring *bazars* and *bustis*; and, unless quarters were provided, imported labour would not settle down. The rent charged by the mill authorities for a one-roomed house varies from two to eight annas weekly. Much of the housing which has been erected by mill authorities is far from satisfactory from the sanitary standpoint. Some mills persist in erecting coolie lines of a bad and insanitary type, rooms being placed in a line back to back, and with no proper arrangements for ventilation and conservancy, the worst features being evident in houses which are double-storeyed. In many of the brick-walled rooms provided there is no adequate provision for ventilation, and the placing of more or less horizontal roofs on a very narrow verandah does not permit of any relief being gained through shade. In many of these coolie lines there is no lighting, which leads to rowdiness at night.

Housing by "Private Enterprise."—In most of the jute and cotton mill villages, however, an exploitative policy was allowed to be pursued with regard to housing the operatives. The agents or *sardars* lease lands from the landlords and build *chawls* and *bustis* and rack-rent the labourers. These *chawls* and *bustis* are honeycombed with rooms so as to utilise the building space to the utmost possible extent. The *bustis* are bamboo huts with mud walls and an overhanging thatched roof sheltering a small verandah, which is used for cooking as well as for sleep in hot weather. Each room carries a rent of not less than Re. 1-8-0, which covers not less than 25 per cent. of

the wages of the mill-labourers. The want of privacy is such that respectable women, even of low caste, cannot live there. The accommodation for the privy is exceedingly limited; in the mill-towns there is often one privy for fifty to seventy-five persons; for which accommodation the rent charged is as much as $1\frac{1}{2}$ as. per head per week. In some cases arrangements are made by the management to keep the open drains and surroundings of the lines in a sanitary condition, but the success of these efforts is often minimised by the placing of latrines at a considerable distance from the houses, so that the occupants use the open drains surrounding their homes. At the mills latrines are usually placed in connection with septic tanks, which are situated some distance from the factory, and involve the climbing of long flights of steps.¹

In mills on the river, far away from Calcutta and situated in villages where an industrial population has not yet settled, the employers have their steam launches and boats which ply between the villages in the neighbourhood which recruit the industrial population. In such cases the peasants very often combine agriculture with factory work and live in their own homesteads.

Overcrowding in Indian Cities.—Thanks to the inequitable house-taxes, which do not discriminate between the rich and the poor man's dwellings, and to the *laissez-faire* policy pursued by the municipalities with regard to the housing of labour and the sanitary arrangements, the problem has become very acute in every industrial centre. In Bombay, about 97 per cent. of the working-class families live in single rooms. The table which appears on the next page sums up certain facts about the population of Bombay City.

¹ Curjel : *Women's Labour in Bengal Industries.*

Tenements.	Average No. per Room, Bombay, 1921.	Average No. per Room, London, 1911.	Infantile Mortality per 1,000 Births in Bombay, 1921.
1 Room ..	4.03	1.92	828.5
2 Rooms ..	2.11	1.71	321.9
3 Rooms ..	1.60	1.37	191.4
4 Rooms ..	1.30	1.19	133.3
Roadside ..	—	—	484.8
Hospitals ..	—	—	189.6
		Total ..	666.7

It will be seen that the conditions of overcrowding in Bombay are far worse than in London. In the worst section of Bombay, the Sewri section, no less than 96 per cent, of the population live in one-roomed tenements with five persons per room. In Karachi, the overcrowding is even worse than in Bombay, the percentage of persons living in rooms occupied by 6 to 9 and 10 to 19 persons being 32.3 and 12.4 there as against 22.1 and 10.8 in Bombay. In Ahmedabad conditions are better than in Bombay, the average number both of one-room tenements and occupants per room being less, but even Ahmedabad is much more overcrowded than London. In Calcutta there are few large mills and factories as there are in Bombay, and the industrial population is spread along the river for some distance beyond the suburbs, so that Calcutta as a centre of population still is twice as great as Bombay. The average density of the population of the city and suburbs is 34 persons to the acre and of the city alone 69. The density of the population of the county of London is 63 per acre; but, on the one

hand, there is no part of London where the density is much more than half that in the Jorasanko ward in Calcutta ; nor, on the other, does London contain any area, bearing so large a proportion of the whole, which has so low a density of population as Ballygunj. In Barabazar, Bowbazar, Bentinck Street, and Dhar-
amtala, people live under conditions of overcrowding unimaginable until they have been witnessed.¹

The average area per working-class room in Bombay is 103·6 square feet, which gives 24·7 square feet for each individual. The height of rooms is usually from 8 to 10 feet, and, multiplying the floor space per individual by 10, this gives 247 cubic feet per individual as compared with 250 cubic feet prescribed as necessary by the Municipal Executive Health Officer, Bombay. According to the 1921 census there are 3,125 one-roomed tenements in Bombay of which 1,955 contain two families, 658 three, 242 four, 136 five, 42 six, 34 seven and 58 eight families and over. There is a considerable amount of sub-letting by the tenants among industrial workers. Among the cases investigated, water supply was good in 234 families, there being one tap in 8 tenements. In 1,423 cases there was one tap for more than 8 but less than 16 tenements, in 487 cases for less than 24 tenements, but more than 16 tenements. In 329 cases one tap was provided for 24 tenements and over.²

It may be interesting to give here some figures regarding slumdom in Great Britain :

Leeds has 72,000 back-to-back houses.

Manchester has 26,000 condemned houses.

Glasgow has 30,000 one-roomed houses, accommodating 3 people apiece.

Birmingham has 43,000 back-to-back houses.

Bombay Housing Scheme.—Of the total population of Bombay 66 per cent. live in one-room tenements

¹ Census of India, 1921, Vol. I, pp. 73, 74.

² Shirras : *Working-class Budgets*.

as against 64 per cent. in Cawnpore, 6 per cent. in London, 5 in Edinburgh, 9 in Dundee and 13 in Glasgow. The average number of persons per room in the one-room tenements is 4.03 in Bombay, 3.25 in Glasgow, 3.2 in Cawnpore and 2.5 in Edinburgh. In 1920 a big housing scheme, one of the biggest undertakings in the East, was introduced in Bombay. House building is to be prosecuted by a Government Department, instead of the Municipality or the Improvement Trust, because of the very heavy liabilities which already rest on those bodies. The Development Directorates, the Improvement Trust and the Municipality are making efforts to provide additional quarters for the industrial population. The programme of the Development Directorate is to build 50,000 tenements by the end of 1929. The Improvement Trust has built to date 8,861 rooms in permanent *chawls*, and they propose to build 3,900 rooms within the next three years. They have also provided 4,575 rooms in semi-permanent *chawls*.¹ The Port Trust, which employs 11,700 labourers, has provided quarters for 5,700. Mill-owners in Bombay have built 26 *chawls* and hope to build 18 more.

The predominant rents for single rooms are between Rs. 3-8-0 and Rs. 5-8-0 and for double rooms Rs. 7 to Rs. 10 for the working class. But there is terrible overcrowding even in these standardised slums; while there is no adequate provision for ventilation, such as the placing of window openings or gratings sufficiently high to prevent the occupiers being overlooked, or the provision of an entry for air between the wall and the roof; while the rents have been considered to be too high for the average labourer.

Overcrowding and Infantile Mortality in Bombay.—The following table classifies births by the number

¹ From 1898 to 1922 the Trust demolished 25,028 tenements and built 23,356 new ones, leaving a deficit of 1672. This has made matters more difficult for the labourers who have been displaced and for whom the new *chawls* are dear.

of tenements occupied by the parents, as also the number of deaths that occurred among these infants :

Infant Mortality in Bombay by the Number of Rooms Occupied in 1920.

	One Room	Two Rooms	Three Rooms	Four & Over	Road-side	Hospitals
Births ..	14,956	2,049	410	207	25	1,994
Deaths ..	9,440	623	121	86	10	616
Infant Mortality per 100 Births	per cent. 63·11	per cent. 30·40	per cent. 29·51	per cent. 28·95	per cent. 40	per cent. 30·89

The figures as given above are for Bombay as a whole ; but, in the more congested parts, the highest infantile mortality registered was 995·6 per 1,000 in the Market section, and the lowest 250·00 per 1,000 in Fort South. The sections which showed a higher mortality than the mean for the city were : Market (995·6) ; Mandvi (900·5) ; Byculla (725·7) ; Chukla (677·3) ; Sewri (665·9) ; Kamathapura (649·5) ; Bhuleswhar (642·8) ; and Second Nagpada (623·8).

Of the total deaths among infants, 19·12 per cent. took place in the first week of life and 13·61 per cent. in the age period one to four weeks.

It should be borne in mind that 50 per cent. of the deaths are due to "avoidable" causes, such as ignorance and neglect on the part of the mother, and insanitary homes. It will be observed that the proportion of deaths varies inversely as the number of rooms occupied.

There cannot thus be any doubt that the improvement of slum areas will be accompanied by a great

reduction of infantile mortality. The following figures show the appalling loss of children :

	Per 1,000
Slum Area in Bombay	760
Slum Area in Calcutta	700

Congestion in Cawnpore.—From the Census Report of 1921 we extract the following detailed statistics of congestion in Cawnpore :

Suburb.	No. of Persons per Structural House.	Percentage of Population living in				
		One Room	Two Rooms	Three Rooms	Four Rooms	Five & Over
Civil Lines ..	5.4	66½	15	9	3½	6
Patkapore ..	10.3	81	12½	3½	2	1
Moolganj ..	9.2	50½	28½	10½	5	5½
Hayatganj ..	7.4	49	26	10½	6½	8
Sadar Bazar	7.9	79	16	4	1	—
Collectorganj	9.8	55	29	8½	4½	3
Awanarganj ..	12.8	66	21½	6½	2½	3½

From these figures we find that 64 per cent. of the population occupy one-room tenements; that there are 8.97 persons to every structural house. The average number in family is 3.2, and there are two persons to every room, but in more congested areas four to six. In Patkapore 81 per cent. of the population live in one-room tenements, while in one circle of Anwarganj there are no fewer than 27.2 persons per structural house.

Child-saving Programme.—Besides the improvement of housing conditions civic action is necessary in the direction of the training of midwives, the

instruction of mothers, medical supervision and care of babies, if the appalling mortality of young children is appreciably to be reduced. The provision of open-air play-grounds is also very important, but no effort will be successful unless the insanitary and unwholesome conditions in which children are reared are altered.

Village in the City.—The question of housing labour cannot be solved by such methods as the segregation of the poor man's quarter and the continuation of one-room tenements. A hundred families may be grouped into a village within the city, with open space in the middle and a common meeting-room, a common well, a common laundry, a common latrine, and a common school. To bring the village into slumdom is possible under this arrangement. Co-operative housing and public utility societies, as well as community centres, should be initiated to develop the civic consciousness and enlist the co-operation of the people themselves in the solution of their problems of housing and social welfare.

Co-operative Remedy for House Shortage.—In Italy and Germany the remedy for the almost universal shortage of houses since the war is increasingly sought in co-operation. In India also much may be expected of co-operative housing. There are twenty-one societies in Bombay, and a beginning has been made in Cawnpore and Lucknow. In Bavaria since the war, nearly 8,000 tenements of from two to four rooms each have been built by co-operative societies. It will give a clearer idea of co-operative housing if we take a typical example. In Munich there is a co-operative house-building society, which started in 1908 with 200 members, and now has 700. Most of these are petty officials, municipal employees—tramway-men, firemen and the like—and workmen employed in a neighbouring locomotive factory. In this society each member takes a five-pound share, which he is

given four years to pay. Liability is limited to the value of the share, and, in passing, it may be noted that unlimited liability is very rare. Dividends may not exceed 5 per cent., and all surplus profit is carried to reserve. Rents cannot be raised without the sanction of a general meeting and no one who is a member can be evicted, so long as he behaves himself. This society now owns six blocks of buildings with 350 tenements of two or three rooms each.

City Housing Problems: Dear Land; Floating Labour.—In India everybody would like to see workers housed in two-room tenements with a garden round each cottage, instead of their being housed in large blocks, honeycombed with rooms. But this is not possible in Bombay or Calcutta under the financial limitations imposed by the high cost of land and of construction. Co-operative housing societies have received in Germany lavish advances to cover the unremunerative part of the cost of building, either directly from Government or through Central Banks, as well as through the Official Development Commission, whose main object is land improvement and the construction of small dwellings. This body makes second mortgage loans which are guaranteed by the municipality concerned. Municipalities in Germany undertake the acquisition of large areas of town-lands which might enable them to control the land market and to make suitable areas available for Co-operative Housing Societies. Since the success of Co-operative Housing Societies depends mainly upon cheap land and cheap finance, the necessity of utilising suburban lands in solving urban housing conditions becomes self-evident. The suburbs can provide even home-stead dwellings, which in the cities are being superseded by large tenements with spacious accommodation. There is no doubt that where the class of labour is unstable, floating and immigrant, properly constructed and sanitary tenement buildings form the

only possible method of housing. In mines and plantations, for instance, where labourers stay for only a few months and depart in gangs to take part in agricultural operations, homestead dwellings are not suitable. Their constant migration does not fit in with household life, and their numbers would swamp any possible accommodation, that homestead dwellings would provide for them.

Preferences of the Indian Labourer.—But in the suburbs of the larger industrial cities of India which are gradually creating a stable class of trained operatives, homestead dwellings would afford a practicable solution, especially in view of the preference of the Indian labourer for family life. Even in the heart of a congested population, as of Calcutta and Cawnpore, we find the labourers preferring the amenities of *bustis*, where they have some privacy, to back-to-back tenements especially erected for the labourers. Indeed, they are prepared to pay higher rents in the two-roomed tenements of the *busti*, or to endure the inconvenience of daily walks to and from the factory, for the sake of the domestic and communal life that they might enjoy. It is for this reason that we find large numbers of labourers dwelling in the suburbs of Calcutta, such as Kidderpore, Howrah, Manicktola and Barnagore ; or those of Rangoon, such as Iusein, Kamayut and Thamaing, the opening up of which probably has done much to prevent the overcrowding and even to impede the development of Rangoon.

Suburban Housing plus Transport Facilities.—In Bombay the provision of houses or *chawls* for labourers has not been very successful. The rents fixed at first were too high for the working classes to pay, and they were taken up by members of the middle classes. Finally, privileged rents were fixed (a minimum of Rs. 10 per mensem for a room of 165 square feet), the extremely heavy loss resulting from these rents

being met from the proceeds of the cotton cess. This loss has been due to the high prices of land and building materials and the absence of ready-made sites suitable for building purposes, difficulties which are not peculiar to Bombay but are experienced in every large city of India. Thus the Improvement Trusts in the various cities will be bound more and more to look to the solution of the housing problem in the direction of suburban developments and in the opening out of housing sites; leaving to philanthropic organisations, co-operative societies and private building associations the provision of the majority of the houses on those sites. The necessity for utilising suburban lands, and the essential condition which must accompany a solution of urban housing problems, have thus been described in the Report on the Housing of the Working Classes in England: "It is upon the belts of undeveloped land on the outskirts of towns that local authorities must chiefly depend for cheap land for housing purposes, and, to render this available, tramway or light railway facilities must be provided concurrently with development. If the acquisition of land is deferred until tramway extension schemes have been publicly projected and approved, the price of the land will rise immediately. On the other hand, the acquisition of land on the outskirts for which transit facilities cannot be conveniently provided is an unprofitable expenditure of public money. Schemes for the acquisition of land and for tramway extensions must be considered together if all the advantages are to be secured to the community."

Suburban Solution of India's Housing Problem.—Where opportunities are available, labour villages might be established in the suburbs. Improved methods of transit would enable labourers to live in villages with fair-sized gardens of their own, and to move to and fro, as they already do in many places; and light railways, motor lorries or launches would

convey them to their place of work. If some of the mills will combine together, one labour village for the housing of the operatives can easily be established, and the operatives will obtain some of the advantages of outdoor rural life, with opportunities for the natural and healthful occupation of cultivating the soil. The government, the landlord or the municipality might find or raise the capital sum for construction of workingmen's dwellings. Investments at moderate interest might be invited by the government, landlord or municipality and donations might also come in. As illustrated by the co-operative housing schemes, a proportion of capital cost might be advanced to the labourers or middle classes by the municipality, to be indemnified by periodic deduction from the pay of the shareholders for the necessary term of years. For help that labourers might give in building their own homes they might be credited as shareholders with assurance of rent proportionately reduced accordingly, and cash payment in emergency. Above all, the sense of responsibility of the employers for labour welfare must be aroused. In Europe and America, the employers are building their garden cities and model villages, with their delightful houses, each with its flowers and little garden of vegetables behind deep-green hedges, and within easy reach of the communal club-house and folk's hall ; which settlements have all grown up on a basis of friendly co-operation between capital and labour, under a growing democratic control. The surroundings of the working man should be made as natural and healthy as possible, so as to revive domestic and communal life in an alien environment. It is the break with all his old ties and associations which is most responsible for the deterioration of the labourer. By giving opportunities of home and community life, of self-management of industry and self-discipline, of recreation and worship in which the employer and the labourer may stand on a footing

of equality, the working man will retrieve all that he has lost in a régime of machinery which has destroyed the natural rhythm of life, starved the elemental impulses and brought about a soul-killing standardisation in marked contrast with his former free existence on the land, with its diversity of tasks, its opportunities of initiative and its many direct appeals to the affective side of human nature.

NOTE

Solution of the Housing Problem.—Many attempted solutions of the housing problem have been so visionary that they have been useless. As a result people have lost faith in the possibility of a decent solution. Nevertheless it is necessary to recognise man's fundamental needs as those of the body, that call for air, light, protection, space for movement, cleanliness, in short, a friendly physical environment that promotes a healthy normal communal life; those of the mind, that seek integration of life's activities, the elimination of chaos, and the expression of the creative impulse; those of his social nature that seek comradeship, play, and the elimination of solitude. Our town must meet those human needs, but our plan must not be fixed and final. It must be so planned that social and industrial innovations and adjustments are both feasible and easy. The new town must provide for the elimination of the ugly aspects of industry and provide for re-organisation along the lines of the release of personality. Beauty in a town must not be imposed upon it as ornamentation. It must be a quality of one coherent vision that lives through all its parts. Towns must be built not to store workers overnight but where they can live human lives. The function of the town-builder is to provide a plan that will furnish escape from the demoralizing effects of the profits system in industry and that will provide for creative achievement. The way out is not destruction of the present order but evolution from it. A home should have ground enough to provide the worker, under supervision of a corps of agricul-

tural workers of the community, with the necessary vegetables and small fruits. A community crop farm and a community dairy farm will provide products and give a chance for education to children. In addition to livelihood earned in the adjacent industries organized on a guild basis, the head of each house will maintain a workshop in the basement which is to be supplemented by a community workshop. This will provide for personal special interests in creative endeavour. The economic life of the town will be on a co-operative basis, and the physical plan will embody the essentials for economic efficiency.—(Robert A. Pope, *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, July, 1919.)

CHAPTER XVII

THE RURAL EXODUS

Revival of Rural Industries.—Throughout the world rural life has been weakened considerably, not only socially but also economically. Nothing has contributed more to this than the rural exodus. Nothing again, can prevent this excepting a change in the mentality of the people. In France and America, where agriculture has been reduced to science and the organisation been perfected, the rural exodus still continues. Belgium and Denmark, which among the countries of the West have solved this problem most successfully, have depended more on educational reform than on agricultural improvements. They have avoided the depletion of agricultural labour and prevented a rural crisis with which France and America are faced by a well-conceived system of agricultural education in evening classes and veterinary schools, in agricultural exhibitions and summer and winter experiments. The technic conditions of the village have to be improved before we may hope to retain those who are acquiring a distaste for the farm life or whose ambitions cannot be satisfied within the limited scope of rural life. The cottage industries and handicrafts, which have greatly declined in recent years owing to the competition with Western manufacturers, should be restored. For this the introduction of scientific implements and appliances is necessary. With the introduction of electricity as the motive-power of village looms and lathes by the harnessing of waterfalls and rivers, and of wind motors in connection with oil and gas engines, we

may solve the problem of industrial power in the villages. In countries like Switzerland and Norway, where village industries are well established, electricity has greatly facilitated their development, resulting in increased all-round prosperity and diffusion of scientific skill. Oil engines have been so much improved that very small engines now are made which are quite practicable for use in the villages and they are also quite cheap. We have a large store of precious skill and hereditary craftsmanship in our villages which must not be allowed to die. Industrial banks are necessary in our villages, and their service to our small industries will be as great as in Switzerland, where they have proved a godsend to those small industries whose workshops abound among the Swiss mountains—watchmakers, makers of musical boxes, weavers, wood-carvers, straw-plaiters, basketmakers, and the like. In Europe the system of peasant proprietorship has gained ground for a century and small industry exists in far greater profusion and variety than in England. In India the handicrafts were always aided by income from rent-free lands in our village communities, or by the patronage of the temple and court. Very often the cottage industry is also a by-occupation to agriculture. The conditions of our agriculture leave the cultivators out of employment for several months in the year, the vast amount of surplus labour being utilised in favour of home industries. Thus, during certain months of the year, all the cultivators of the village become basket-makers, ropemakers, silk-rearers and reelers and even weavers of coarse cloths. The rural industry becomes usually the agriculturist's second string. This fact has been well realised in Norway, Denmark and certain parts of Canada, where village industries give employment in the long dark evenings. Moreover, since the industry is carried on in the midst of the family, the artisans can work longer hours than are

customary in a workshop or factory. The women also, in the intervals of their domestic work, assist the artisans materially in the easier processes of the industry. The artisan thus finds an energetic support, not only in the collaboration of the members of the family, but also in the moral element which is the consequence of working in his home. Apart from all this, the predominance of large-scale production has been greatly exaggerated. Statistics of employment show that the number of workers employed in small workshops, employing fifty workers or under, exceeds the number employed in the large factories. Many of these small undertakings are still thriving in spite of large-scale competition, and show no signs of being superseded in economic progress. The isolated artisans and workers are always sweated, however, by the middlemen and wholesale dealers, who advance money on raw materials and bring down their wages almost to a starvation level. On the other hand, wherever an association of the artisans and workers for buying raw materials and selling the products has been formed, their condition has greatly improved. Thus, wherever co-operative effort has altered the conditions of marketing, rapid progress is realised also in the technical aspects of the industries. Indeed, in India, we should adopt as far as possible the arts of technical and mechanical efficiency in small establishments and methods of marketing, as in France, as well as the grafting of processes of large co-operative business upon the small farming economy, as in Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Switzerland, Italy and Roumania. The conditions in these countries are more easily applicable to India, where the solidarity of the family and the joint farm and homestead, the fluid communalism and social cohesiveness, as well as the peculiar habits of an ancient agrarian population, make us unfit, however we may try, for utilising the full advantages of a large and concentrative

capitalism which inhere in countries of massive production like England and America.

Rural Co-operation.—In Japan, 80 per cent. of the villages have co-operative societies, more than half of which are for credit and are worked on the principles of unlimited liability. These principles were first systematised by Raiffeisen in Germany. According to these the peasants form themselves into a small group and become absolutely credit-worthy by a combination of unlimited liability, close supervision and bank deposits. The Raiffeisen system of banking has been introduced into Indian villages, where it has been a school of discipline in thrift, self-help and solidarity of economic interests. There are other forms of co-operative enterprise prevalent in the agricultural countries in the West which will be a great boon to our villages if they are adapted to local conditions and circumstances of economic life. A great deal has been accomplished for the betterment of rural life by agricultural co-operation in the West, while in Japan the various agricultural brotherhoods and societies with which the rural tracts are honey-combed have been the basis of an all-round rural prosperity. The objects of these associations in Japan are multifarious and adapted to the special needs of different agricultural districts. Among them the following may be mentioned :

- (1) Provision of agricultural lectures.
- (2) Award of prizes for best seed-beds.
- (3) Award of prizes to successful farmers.
- (4) Grant of bonuses to faithful agricultural labourers.
- (5) Grant of rewards to schoolboys for destruction of insects and pests.
- (6) Distribution of seeds, eggs, etc., to primary schools.
- (7) Conduct of farm competition in five classes,

viz. seed-beds, rice, vegetables, silk and mulberry growing.

- (8) Conduct of experiments in agriculture, sericulture and poultry-farming.
- (9) Protection of useful birds and free distribution of seedlings of trees, to be grown as shelter for birds.
- (10) Preparation of a statistical report of a village.
- (11) Co-operative purchase of seeds and co-operative sale of produce.

In India, agriculture, which is our national industry, is least organised, and efforts ought to be made to establish among the peasants associations and establishments like the following to counteract the disadvantages of isolated work in the fields and homesteads: Societies for the preservation, handling, packing and sale of fruits, eggs, etc.; co-operative creameries, sugar and oil presses, rice-mills, cattle insurance and breeding societies; co-operative fisheries; co-operative societies for the sale and distribution of farm implements and machinery and agricultural literature; co-operative societies for the prevention of malaria, for jungle-clearing, for the improvement of land by drainage and irrigation, for the supply of water for wind-motors to raise water for flour-grinding and market-gardening; co-operative electric plants; co-operative societies for the supply of oil and gas engines. It is noteworthy that in the old and essential traditions of rural communalism in India which have still survived, we find seeds of the agricultural and industrial co-operation which now awaits renewal. In different parts of India the solidarity of the rural commonwealth is still centred round the common land and the common fund of the village. In South India the communal income of a village may reach from Rs. 200 to Rs. 50,000. Generally the income is from one to two thousand

rupees. From the objects of expenditure we can well realise the strength of rural collectivism. The more common objects are the repair and maintenance of irrigation channels, temples and guest-houses. Then there are gifts to learned *Shastris*, village plays, peasant gymnastics and music, the expenses of which are met out of common funds. In some villages agricultural loans are advanced out of the village funds or for the purchase of manure. Striking forms of co-operation also are met with in irrigation work on mountain slopes and hill-sides, in ploughing the land and preparing the soil for sugar-cane and betel, in building and protecting rice embankments from flood, etc. All these bear a close resemblance to forms of co-operative enterprise which obtain in countries like Italy, Ireland, Serbia and Germany. Such co-operation, which has its basis in the ancient village tradition, should be adapted in a manner suitable to modern conditions. The erection and maintenance by the village community in India of its public works, wells, tanks and irrigation-channels, the meeting-house, the temple or mosque, the school and the guest-house, constitute notable experiments in communal endeavour.

Remnants of the old Village Co-operation.—Even now a considerable part of the system of minor irrigation is still maintained by private charity and communal labour, while each member of the village community is still required to contribute his share of the labour or funds necessary for the erection and upkeep of the school, the temple or the guest-house. Whether in the maintenance of roads and communications, the local distribution of water supply from irrigation channels, or the upkeep of schools, temples and philanthropic institutions, the traditional obligation of the village community to look after them should be definitely recognised, and should be revived if it is becoming extinct; this will lead not only to more

ease and efficiency in administration, but also, by strengthening and developing local initiative, it will conduce to the adaptation of the economic and social habits themselves to the complex needs of to-day.

CHAPTER XVIII

WRONGS AND THEIR REMEDIES

Indian Justice in a Transitional Stage.—Crime has been described as misdirected energy. In primitive times people held to the law of might ; murder and robbery outside one's clan or family were considered honourable. Punishment was meted out by the *totem* group, clan or family, and there were invoked also supernatural penalties which affected not merely the offenders but also the whole society which was regarded as participating in the particular crime. Later, with the development of the State, crimes became public offences which were dealt with by the State. Thus, the judgment on crime not only shows different standards in different stages and types of civilisation, but the distinction between legal and social crime also varies. In India sexual crimes, for instance, have been particularly condemned. In the case of petty sex offences, which are often ignored in the West, punishment is awarded by the social group to which the offender belongs. Such cases are dealt with by the *Panchayats* and not referred to the courts which do not recognise them. The matters of which the *Panchayats* specially take cognizance are the following : (1) All breaches of caste rules relating to matrimony and death ; *e.g.* breach of contract of betrothal, dishonourable conduct in respect of marriage, improper behaviour of husband or wife towards the other ; failure to perform after-death rites of a deceased person, etc. ; (2) cases of immorality, elopement and enticing away of women ; (3) interference with marriage and death ceremonies of another member of the caste ; (4) carrying of a carcase of an

animal against custom ; (5) failure to discharge a valid debt ; (6) breach of social laws to which a caste is subject ; (7) breach of trust and fraud ; (8) failure to attend when summoned by the *Panchayat*. The punishment awarded for offences varies with the locality, the status of the caste, the seriousness of the offence, and the position of the offender. All these determining features are considered by the *Panchayat* in passing the sentence. The higher castes are seldom subject to governing bodies and, when they are, the control is not so effective. The punishment generally awarded by them is the performance of a *prayaschit* (penance) according to the *Shastras*, and excommunication from the brotherhood until the needful has been done. In India we are now in the midst of the transition from ethnic grouping to civic organisation and the notions of crime and offence are being radically altered. From an agricultural-communal civilisation with its static conditions we are passing to a keenly competitive urban-industrial régime, whose criterion is contract. Status and custom cease to be social binders. With regard to the employment of labour, the sale of goods, contract, monopoly, cut-throat competition, etc., new offences have emerged which were unknown to the ancient social code meant for a rural civilisation. Thus persons can commit these offences and yet retain their social respectability because public opinion in regard to these matters is as yet too vague. Unexpected economic changes which are working havoc with ancient institutions increase the number of law-breakers.

India's Criminal Tribes.—Not until we revise our ethical teachings and standards of social morality can we expect that crime will cease and that men will expend their energies in safer and socially wise directions. The adjustment has not been accomplished in India, and it is the stress of the transition which has upset those most who lack the psycho-physical

organisation that is required by the orderly civilised life of to-day. Some individuals are born mentally defective ; some are moral imbeciles by birth. It is well known that there is no class so abandoned to criminal life as some of the nomad tribes of India. It is these that are the least adapted to settled civilised life and conditions, and who at the same time are given the least opportunity for social development. Many of these are not furnished by society with remunerative labour. They live in agricultural districts that are notorious for their infertility. The criminal tribe population in India is estimated at four millions. Most of these belong to a very low scale of civilisation—hunters, pastoralists, wanderers, given to habitual pilfering and sometimes indulging in violent crime ; and they show the marks of the criminal type as Lombroso discerned it. They are brought under the provisions of the Criminal Tribes Act. They are subject to periodical registration and inspection ; and wandering beyond the boundaries of the settlement is forbidden without a pass. If they transgress the limits of forbearance the more stringent provisions of the law are applied against them. They are interned in jails, where they are not allowed to practise any of their petty handicrafts for their own advantage. When they are found to be more loafers than criminals they are brought under discipline and educated in settlements. Some are apprenticed in the factories ; others are assisted to emigrate to one of the colonies. In the Panjab, which is the favourite hunting ground of criminal tribes, there have been registered 33,000 male adults of the wandering tribes for whom 28 settlements, including the Reformatory Settlement, 14 industrial and 14 agricultural, have been established. The worst characters are removed to the Reformatory Settlement, the less criminal to the industrial, and the well-behaved to the agricultural settlements. In

the agricultural settlement, the most promising of the reformed members of the criminal tribes are settled on land, both by way of reward for their own reformation and as an encouragement to others. The reclamation of nearly four millions of the criminal population of India presents a vast and intricate problem. Most of these are born criminals, too strong of impulse or too weak in self-control or foresight, too insensible to suffering, and too much lacking in sensibility to public opinion to be deterred from crime by even the smart of punishment, let alone by example. To set aside such offenders for reclamation and cure requires a good deal of careful treatment and technical skill. It is evident that the trend of change in the treatment of criminals throughout Europe and America is in the general direction of making punishment a system of industrial labour and education, with disciplinary colonies for the most vicious, providing for their permanent segregation, so as to secure the elimination of their stock. Thus, much may be expected from the gradual weaning of the relatively roving, restless tribes and castes of India from old habits by disciplining them in agricultural colonies and industrial settlements.

Social Segregation an Incitement to Crime.—Nor is the problem without its bearings on social reform. The social segregation of the depressed castes and “untouchables” in India discourages honest endeavour and repression of vice and crime. Thus, until society establishes a balance between unwarranted claims, on one side, and blind prejudice on the other, the process of reclamation is retarded. Much of the drunkenness and addiction to filthy habits on the part of these people is due to their social disesteem, and nothing short of the social uplift of these classes and recognition of the equality of their race will diminish crime which is practised because they fail to get what they are justly entitled to under

the new social conditions—the satisfaction of the elementary needs of life.

Social Maladjustment in India.—Nowhere is social maladjustment more manifest in India than in cities, where there is not much home-life for the labourers or even for the middle class, and where consequently the suppressed instincts stand out rebellious against society in diverse forms of crime, more especially because the temptations in a cosmopolitan city are so many and the restraints of the family and the communal code *nil*. Closely-packed populations in our urban districts, with a striking disparity of the proportions between sexes, indeed, furnish breeding-places for sex immorality. The absence of social cohesiveness, in which the villager's life was formerly so closely knit, lessens the man's powers of resisting temptation, while the irrepressible display of ostentatious riches in our new towns, which are whirlpools of fashion and luxury, is a challenge to honesty and diligence when these are no longer proof against unemployment and starvation.

Economic Situation and Crime.—Criminality is influenced strongly also by the economic situation. German statisticians have emphasised the close relation between the fluctuations in the cost of grain and the number of thefts and robberies. In India crime against property is more connected with the character of the season than elsewhere—a bad season raises the average jail population, while a year of good rainfall and harvest decreases crime. Drunkenness is a crime hardly known in India ; in Europe 6 in every 1,000 are tried for this offence. But it is fast becoming a factor of criminality in the industrial centres. There the mill-hands obtain their weekly wages on Saturday, spend a large portion of these on drink on Sunday, and often stay at home the next day to recover from the effects of excessive indulgence. We accordingly see that the cases of assault and

rowdyism coincide with pay-days and holidays. The cause is excessive indulgence in grog-shops and brothels crowded with large numbers of idle people, who would be kept busy in factories on week-days. In the slums of the great cities of India we also are developing a class of criminals, habituated to morphine or cocaine. These drugs are difficult to procure, so the victims resort to fraud and theft ; and, if women, to prostitution. Such are the new factors in criminality which we are coming across in the degradation and filth of the tenements and *bustis* of our mill-towns. These indeed, have become notorious for brawls, assault and battery, which frequently take place inside or in front of their wine-shops and public-houses. As contrasted with our cities, the villages, indeed, show far less crime. In the agricultural districts there is less, far less, disparity of economic conditions and opportunities and hence fewer reasons for either pauperism or crime. In the villages there is greater personal knowledge of individuals, while the village and caste *Panchayats*, which are irrepresible and ubiquitous institutions, act as censors and guardians of the villager's character and habits. The village guest-house or the temple also relieves destitution, which may be due to accidents or inclemencies of fortune, and the genial humanitarianism of the people, to whom poverty is not a crime, and who maintain a class of mendicant ascetics, has abolished much of the rigour of misfortune.

Intricate Law a Cause of Litigation.—But the failure of adaptation to the new social standards gradually asserts itself in greater criminality, even in the rural tracts. Dealey says : " Society has developed so vast and intricate a system of criminal law and procedure in respect to the detection, trial and punishment of criminals, that with all the reforms of the last hundred years it is still the despair of the philosophic jurist and the admiration of every believer in circum-

locution and chicanery. The delays and evasions of the law, its failure to conform to newer social standards and conditions, its practical, though unintentional favouritism, the expense of litigation, mostly unnecessary, all combine to sap one of society's most valued achievements, reverence for and obedience to law." In India the law was formerly comprehensible to rural folk and the procedure in village courts simple. A revision and simplification of the present codes will contribute a great deal to the lessening of crime. It is estimated that in the Panjab there are, in an average year, 520,000 civil, criminal and revenue cases instituted; appeals, civil executions and miscellaneous applications total 250,000. The number of persons involved must be about 1,200,000 in original cases and about 800,000 more must appear in other proceedings. The number of witnesses is over one million. Thus about 2,500,000 persons attend the courts every year either as parties or witnesses. Mr. Darling estimates that the capitalised value of the annual expenditure on litigation, amounting to more than four crores, would suffice to redeem the whole agricultural mortgage debt of the province. It is well known that much of the litigation in the Panjab is due to the fact that the interpretation of customary law by the courts has not always been certain and definite, so that the illiterate people gamble with the law.

Civilised Views of Crime.—Similar to the evil arising from the technicality of law is the hindrance due to old-time ideas about offence and its punishment. So long as an offence is regarded as the result of innate depravity, harsh punishment is meted out as a sort of revenge by society. This leads the individual to justify his act from the sense of having been wronged by society, which does not give him the same opportunities as it gives to the more favoured. Now it is realised that a great mass of crime would not have been committed if society had given equal oppor-

tunities to all. Vindictiveness changes to social sympathy, criminals are discriminated and there is a sense of duty to the offender. Thus the nature of the punishment is now varied according as the offender is young or hardened, simple or cunning, well-intentioned or wicked.

Civilised Treatment of Criminals.—There is discrimination also as regards the treatment of different classes of criminals. Minors are not sent to jails but to juvenile courts, where they are given advice and disciplinary training. Mild offenders are placed in industrial schools and farm colonies, where they are given a preparatory training for the independent life of the individual. Those who are not hardened criminals are sent on patrol, and if they show good behaviour their sentences are reduced. Within the gates of the prison inmates are carefully grouped, so that evil association is avoided, and academic and moral instruction is given to all regularly. In all respects the culprit is regarded as a sick man ; as the patient is let out when he recovers, the criminal is let out when he effects his own improvement and can help to make good the wrong he has done.

Prevention of Crime.—But prevention is the only cure of crime. Thus, the programme of reform should begin with the removal one by one of the vicious conditions that drive so many persons to offences against the law. Social reform, popular education, housing reform, abolition of poverty and unemployment, all these eliminate the causes of crime. Some of these are inherent in society, which therefore must accept the responsibility of tracing them out and eradicating them where that is possible.

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The Economic Causes of Crime.—Mr. O. H. B. Starte, who has long experience in work among criminal tribes in

Bombay, inclines to the belief that in many cases economic causes are at the bottom of the criminal habits of these people. In the case of the wandering tribes, so long as they were constantly passed on from district to district by the police, it was hardly possible for them to settle down to any steady form of industry. Under the organisation created under the Criminal Tribes Act, 1911, they are now able to adopt a settled life, and in many cases are glad to do so. Even in the case of the more stationary tribes, the poor quality of the land they held may have had something to do with the adoption of predatory habits, a case in point being that of the Kallars of South India. The necessity of providing adequate and remunerative work, if these criminal communities are to be weaned from criminal courses and converted to habits of industry, is clearly established by the experience acquired in the settlements. The most successful settlements in India are those where labour is found in some large and neighbouring commercial undertaking, such as a mill, a sugar factory or a distillery. Agriculture is, no doubt, a suitable occupation under favourable conditions, as at Okara, or in a less degree at Stuartpuram, but the amount of suitable land is everywhere limited, and this method of employment cannot often be adopted. Moreover, it is useless to expect a class of untrained and inexperienced agriculturists to extract a living out of barren dry soil on which not even the regular villager could live.—(*Report of the Indian Jails Committee, 1919-20.*)

The Juvenile Delinquent.—The two important facts of criminology are, first, that the present method of dealing with crime is a failure ; second, that the habitual criminal always starts at an early age. The failure of the law to stay the development of habitual offenders is due to attempting to treat crime by a prearranged vindictive plan without any consideration of the cause or the individual. Crime is a form of conduct ; the organ of conduct is the mind. How can it be possible to deal properly with a prisoner without studying his mind ? Mental defect is pre-eminently the cause of crime. Juvenile delinquents may be divided into two groups, general and special. In the general group we may put those whose bad conduct

can be explained on well-recognised lines, *e.g.* some physical defect or illness, a bad home, the wrong occupation, or lack of training for any occupation at all. In the special group we put those for whom some form of mental analysis is necessary to detect the fundamental causes. For those who have graduated in misconduct, how can a few weeks of imprisonment, even if assisted by training, be sufficient to change the habits and wrong trends of thought that have existed for years? Lightning cures are scarcely ever possible. Reform usually means much hard work, both on the part of the offender and those in charge of him. Often the whole conditions must be changed to prevent persisting bad influence. Such influence may come from the present reputation, old associates and even from the family attitude. For the prevention of juvenile delinquency social reform is one of the most important steps. The child must have opportunities to play and develop. A public park in every district is essential, but there must be supervision and organization.—(W. A. Potts, *School Hygiene*, November, 1920.)

The Elmira Reformatory.—The Elmira Reformatory in New York received its first prisoners in 1876; Z. R. Brockway was its initial superintendent. The underlying principles of the Elmira system are: (1) The prisoner can be reformed. (2) Reformation is the right of the convict and the duty of the State. (3) Every prisoner must be individualised and given the special treatment which is needed to develop him in the points in which he is weak. He needs physical, intellectual, or moral culture in combination, but in varying proportions, according to the diagnosis of each case. (4) The prisoner's reformation is always facilitated by his own co-operation. (5) The supreme agency for securing the desired co-operation on the prisoner's part is power lodged in the administration of the prison to lengthen or shorten the duration of the offender's term of imprisonment. (6) The most important principle of all is that the whole process of reformation must be educational.

The Elmira plan includes trade training. The aim of the institution is to send no man out who is not prepared to do something well enough to be independent of the

temptation to lie or steal. If the question is asked : Where does the punishment enter in ? the answer is : In the disciplinary control which is unremitting and exacting. The warden must be of the highest integrity, attainments, and consecration. The Elmira plan has been widely adopted ; it ranks as one of the best.

CHAPTER XIX

RECREATIONS

Recreation, a Human Need.—Recreation, no less than work, is an imperative demand of human nature. The acquired habits and traditions of man in civilised life repress or baffle those original tendencies which have become a handicap to the possessor or a menace to social life. Such impulses find a safe outlet in diverse recreations. The aboriginal tribes of India who abandon forest life, settle down in villages and gradually accept a stable marital relationship, taste the joy of battle to this day in sham-fights and give themselves up to sexual promiscuity in annual spring feasts and dances. In all stages of civilisation man feels a oneness with the natural phenomena around him, and thus have originated those mimetic magical rites to promote the fertility of the soil, the fall of rain, the intensity of sunshine and the growth and due harvesting of the crops, which we find to this day in the seasonal festivals and observances of the Indian peasant.

Fasts and Feasts—In India the dependence of agriculture upon rainfall and the consequent anxiety and suspense have led to seasonal fasts, which also have been encouraged by our ethical and religious systems. The practice of abstinence is, as Frazer has shown, a sympathetic charm to foster the growth of the seed which is forced into vitality by the mimetic observance of the Saturnalia which brings the festival to a close. Thus fasts and feasts alternate both among the Hindus and the Muhammadans as they did among the ancient Romans. The Muhammadans have in their feasts of *Ramazan* the exact equivalent

of the Hindu *Navaratra*, the Christian and Buddhist Lent, followed by an outburst of rejoicing at the *Id* with which it concludes. Much of the severity of fasting is due to the value attached by religion to the mortification of the flesh. It is recognised now that if we thwart our main natural dispositions we produce passivity, weakness and nervous strain. There is no doubt that in India the fatalistic resignation to nature and the idealisation of fasting, vigils and poverty, which are far removed from the inborn restlessness and self-assertiveness of the animistic tribes and castes, the bedrock of our population, have contributed to the spiritlessness and lack of vitality now so prevalent among the people. These have their reactions in the unbridled liberty and even license exhibited in the periodical *melas* of the villages. On the other hand, the host of diversions which now are becoming popular in the cities, such as the professional theatre and the bioscope which are saturated with sex suggestion, are not less objectionable. Moreover, these diversions involve physical confinement, bodily immobility and physical strain. Festival and recreation, indeed, raise grave ethical problems in society. Diversions are necessary, but should be so regulated and cleansed as to allow natural outlets to the instincts, so that man may not be driven to drink and opium as the only escape from a stale humdrum life. On the other hand, our diversions should not be such as to impair that shaping and training of native impulses throughout the ages, which made social progress possible in the past, and will make for further advance in the future.

Recreations, Degrading and Uplifting.—Our bloody acrobatic feats in the villages brutalise the people and militate against the genial humanisation which has resulted from the Buddhistic and Jaina ethical systems. The partridge- and cock-fights, with the elaborate preparations they involve, satisfy or excite the blood-

thirst of the onlooking multitude. Football, tennis, cricket, golf, etc., have high recreational value, but only a few can participate in them. Again, football matches and boxing competitions sometimes rouse the combative impulses and demoralise the passive onlooker whose partisanship and irrationality when present in numbers lower the level of sports. The cheap cinema, again, which is run by a profiteering company, supplies the sensational and even the sensual, and leads people downward. We want to-day wholesome recreations such as those which give imaginative satisfaction to our impulses and blend them with social, artistic and cultural elements. These will be found in combinations of music, religion and art, such as are effected in the folk-plays and symbolic *lilas* or pageants of India. Much that is unrefined, however, has to be eliminated from these, and much that is ethical and socialising needs to be imparted. *Bhajan* parties aiming at redemptive sacrifice will bring glad tidings of hope and joy in the love of God and man. Folk songs and religious *Jatras* and village theatricals in which the villagers might act scenes from the Scriptures, from the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, from the *Puranas* and the *Champu Kavyas*, performances answering to the *Mohurrum* plays and the Passion plays, in which Moslem and Christian villagers take part in Persia and Bavaria, will be powerful aids of social and moral uplift. Throughout the East the visual presentation is the chief artistic resource and there is little or no need of further information or suggestion from uttered words. Again, in a processional pageant, we obtain a comprehensive criticism of life and come to appreciate the unity of reality as a whole, a reality present everywhere. And so it is that the East, instead of erecting memorials and statues, seeks to revive past experiences by dramatising them in mystery plays and pageants and linking them with the procession of the

seasons. Thus, as the sun and the moon and stars bring to man a message which is cyclical in its recurrence, so in the seasonal plays the thrilling episodes of the past or the ecstatic moments of great love, renunciation and sacrifice are lived over and over again by the people, who may not know much about acting but do know the story and the scheme thoroughly. There are choruses which add rhythm to the movement, and to these the sympathetic multitude ardently respond, giving an intense emotional poignancy to the whole dramatic production.

Test of Recreational Value.—As regards the daily round of sports and diversions, recreational value is to be tested by the relief given to overtaxed parts of the brain from the tensions of daily work and anxiety. Sometimes the relief tends to degenerate into a coarse stimulation of the senses. The more elemental the instincts a sport satisfies, the greater is its popularity. In the second place, the sport must be out of doors so that it may soothe the jaded nerves. In the Indian villages the actors, acrobats, and wrestlers are recruited from all castes. Thus these serve to strengthen sociality, while feeding the affective side of man's nature and relieving the monotony of agriculture and the isolation of rural life. In the cities the Indian working man is now turning to coarser recreations, such as the vulgar nautch, cheap cinema and obscene theatricals, and, above all, drinking and gambling.

More Opportunities for Recreation Necessary.—Man's life is subject to trying discipline and routine work and his rhythm of life now has to be restored by an ampler provision for holidays and wholesome and harmonising recreations. Thus healthy diversions in mill-towns, such as municipal bands and orchestras, wholesome drama and sports organised by the social settlements, are important auxiliaries in the fight against intemperance and vice. There is much virtue also in our time-honoured out-door amusements,

such as bow and arrow competitions, wrestling, canoe races, camel, horse or donkey races, prisoner's base (*kavaddi*), the merry-go-round, the see-saw, kite-flying, fencing, rope-dancing and team-hunting, all which may provide healthy enjoyment so far as they are suited to modern and local conditions.

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Village Amusements and Diversions.—In Malabar, Sanskrit dramas (*kutū*) are enacted in villages. There are also tableaux, which are based on stories from the *Puranas* (*katha kālī*). Both in Bengal and Southern India there are periodical exhibitions of images, which represent heroes and heroines from the *Mahabharata* or popular folk-lore and tradition. In the Panjab the women make a *gobardhan* of cow-dung, which consists of Krishna lying on the back surrounded by little cottage loaves of dung to represent mountains bristling with grass stems, with tufts of cotton or rag on the tops of trees; and little dung balls for cattle watched by dung men dressed in bits of rag. Story-telling from the Epics, recitation of *Shashtra* and *Samkirtan* are met with in every part of India. Even the depressed castes of the South, the Holeyas, Kongas, etc., assemble in their homes during the rains, and one of them recites *padas*. These are composed by *pariah* poets, whose hymns show both religious fervour and artistic excellence. In Bengal, the strolling mendicants, the *baul* and the *fakir*, sing mystic songs, while in the Panjab the itinerant *mirasi* or *dhadi* recites the tales of Hir and Ranjha, Miza and Sahiban, Sassi and Panun to the accompaniment of a *sarangi*, thereby bringing to the people welcome diversion and relief from the toils of the day. The *mirasis* and *bhats* in Northern India recite the praises of ancestors; professional story-tellers repeat long-winded tales in the evenings for the benefit of the village folk. Many of the older peasants have learnt by heart old ballads, verses, songs or stories taken from the *Puranas*, the *Granth Sahib* or some other religious or moral composition, and repeat them for the edification of their fellows.

The village playwrights, bards, minstrels, reciters of the Epics and genealogists, as well as the strolling acrobats and jugglers, who all cater for social recreations and amusements and are in great requisition at religious or other festivals, are regarded with amused tolerance and charity, and have a corresponding eleemosynary share at each harvest from the villagers. Birth, betrothal and marriage ceremonies are constantly occurring, often exceedingly elaborate and accompanied by special festivities. The periodical fairs also give diversion. Pilgrimages, too, are undertaken on occasions by persons anxious to gain the favour of a local god or saint. Nor are the villages without their games. In Northern India they have the *Kabadi* and the *Sanchi*. Wrestling also is common. They have acrobatic and magical performances called *Dumbo kulari* and *Pitambara* in the South. Cock-fights, partridge-fights, ram-fights, boar-hunts, walking on fire, are well known. In the South, cloths are tied on the horns and neck of an angry bull, and the man who confronts it and removes the cloths is recipient of village honours. In Coorg, tiger-hunting is celebrated on the village green. Ballads are sung and the hunter is garlanded and rewarded. There are special castes which chiefly give the dramatic performances in the villages. Each company of players has a well-understood vested right, called by them their *mirasi* right, to perform when invited at certain stated villages; and, if any rival endeavours to oust them, there is trouble. When invited, the whole company goes over, is fed by the villagers who have sent for them, and receives for its services as much as Rs. 100 a night, usually paid from the common village funds.

Civic Festivities.—"It has been said that the whole demand of citizenship lies in the claim that all the work of the city should be done by the people of the city. This is, as I cannot help thinking, but a defective summary of the duties of citizens. Surely they ought to rejoice together. It has ever been, in the history of man, that the realising of social unity found expression in joy. This is the feeling that speaks in every triumphal arch that ends a village road, and crowns a bathing *ghat*, on the banks of the Ganges. This is the feeling that our fathers knew, when

they instituted the practice of procession. Over and over again, in the Rig Veda, the earth is referred to as 'the sacrifice' round which the path of light makes a priestly circle, in the course of the year. It is one of the most beautiful and vigorous of similes. That of Auguste Comte which may be freely translated, 'The Earth itself is but the largest image and space about it the infinite altar,' sounds almost like an echo of the Vedic metaphor. But it reminds us of the beautiful procession of the images which are so characteristic a feature of life in Indian towns. As the light encircles the earth, so verily do these ceremonial pilgrimages girdle our boroughs and villages, nay, it is not only the worship of Saraswati or the commemoration of the *Mohurram*, who makes the circumambulation of the communal home. The whole Indian idea of enjoyment is communal, and even at a marriage processions form the typical delight."—(From Sister Nivedita's *Civic and National Ideals*.)

CHAPTER XX

ART AND RELIGION

Origin and All-pervasiveness of Art.—The orderly procession of the stars in the heavens, the succession of the seasons and of light and darkness, the cycle of Nature's process of growth, decay and rejuvenation, the ebb and flow of the tides, the rhythmical beating of the heart, the periodic fluctuation of sexual life, all these make man peculiarly susceptible to a sense of order and symmetry. Art arises from a perception of this attitude. It expresses itself through a pleasure in forms, colours and sounds and their harmonies and contrasts in personal decoration, in architecture, painting and sculpture, in song, dance or poetry. The purest and most typical expression of simple feeling is that which consists of random movements. Hirn says that when these motions assume, as they so easily do, the character of a fixed sequence in time, *i.e.* when they are rhythmical, they can be and inevitably are, as by a sort of inner compulsion, imitated by the on-lookers. As soon as the expression is fixed in rhythmical form its contagious power is incalculably increased. In primitive times the gregariousness of man, under the excitement of periodical feasts, thus usually found expression in rhythmic beating, choral music and dance. Art had its origin in the choral dance under the mental exaltation of such circumstances, and was a powerful social binder. Under the influence of the memories and the emotions which these dances stimulate the primitive group achieves a sense of corporate unity, which makes corporate action possible out of the fixed and sacred routine of ordinary life. The dance gave the form at once to

the religious ritual and to the art of the primitive people. It united peoples by the power of suggestion, in mutual offence and defence. Thus the dance was the form in which primitive people prepared for battle and celebrated their victories. Even now poetry, song and music inspire the nations to fight one another. With peaceful peoples art addresses itself to the task of finding order and symmetry in all activities of life. It raises work to the expression of happy and noble ideals in forms of carven wood or moulded clay, in brass images or in low reliefs, in wall paintings or embroidered fabrics. It brings the sexes together and enlivens domestic life. It makes love enduring by borrowing from Nature and the sentient life around the patterns of everlasting union. It is the mother of social etiquette and form which lend a grace and dignity to human intercourse. It enters into rituals and observances, which become fraught with deep inspiring meanings of human life and destiny. It allies itself with religion and creates a language of symbols and a wealth of conventional *motifs* borrowed from the ordinary sights and sounds of everyday life which easily express the eternal verities by their appeal to the imagination. These meet us at every step in wood and metal work or mural decoration, in painting or music, in village planning or the building of a temple, mosque or tomb, clothing the profoundest mysteries in the most familiar garb. The local styles differ, the modes and ideals of composition of art vary among different peoples, but they all seek to express the one great apprehension of all art—the principle of harmony, that the One is in the Many, and that the Many is in the One.

Muhammadian Realistic Art.—Thus Muhammadian art is on the whole realistic and secular in subject and is untouched by the spiritual emotion which inspires Buddhist and Hindu art. But in the calculating Muhammadian mind there is joy of filling empty space

with regular geometrical designs heaped together in a veritable maze of patterns which express the Many. But the Many is also the One, and this is expressed in Muhammadan architecture by the countless buildings, each crowding together numberless geometrical devices in an aggregate, all vainly striving to reach the Infinite in perspectives ascending higher and higher round a dome within which the faithful offer their prayers. A desire to conquer vacuum first takes possession of the artist, who drives away the shapeless and the unknown by a bewildering variety of regular geometrical drawings or animals and human figures in panoramic succession. But soon he feels his powerlessness, and then his arrays of jostling forms and perspectives in cubic sequence cry out in empty space in *ajans*, every dawn, midday and dusk before the Eternal Formlessness.

Hindu Symbolic Art.—The Hindu mind, more deeply responsive to Nature and profoundly touched by a sense of repose in the midst of the bewildering flux of things, speaks in a language of symbols which tell a different story and tell it unmistakably. The auspicious plants and flowers, triangles, rectangles and circles which the peasant's wife draws on the door-front; the bunch of grain and mango-leaves tied in beautiful designs to the lintel; the lamp beneath the *tulsi* plant; the water vase over which are hung the lithe branches of the plantain: these convey a symbolic meaning and a sense of values to every Indian heart alike.

This symbolism, however, is best expressed in numerous myths and images which are living realities in the Indian heart, expressions of a profound experience of life. Such creations represent the soul of India. We can distinguish several compositional types which represent some of the most significant and exhaustive experiences of the reality.

Characteristic Subjects in Indian Art.—One is

represented by Krishna clasping his beloved in a rhythmic self-abandon. Krishna's figure is in the *tribhanga* posture. Here the objective of art is the vision of the Infinite dancing with the Finite, and the happy state of the mystic sportive mood is expressed in the vertical and horizontal plane of a swinging movement which keeps pace with the music of the flute. Such an image is well known in every house and temple, even in markets and village council-halls. The appeal of this symbolism is universal.

Another striking Indian form is that of Siva dancing the dance of death and of life. The dance turns in a perfect circle. Haloes of fire surround the figure. It is the expression of life's energy, frolicsome in its infinite destruction, but complete, unchanging and timeless.

Another popular figure is that of the goddess seated on the lion and slaying the demon. The fury of destruction is expressed in the diagonal slope of her angry posture, while the helplessness of evil is visualised in its deviation from the straight strong outline. Such is the expression of the conquest of the spirit over brute matter, an artistic composition, one among many forms India has created in relation to a well-known myth or event. In the former case, the figure of the dancing Siva, the action or motion is complete, so that there is established a tranquil repose, an all-engulfing unity. In the latter, the movement continues, and there is the unrestrained irritation of an incomplete achievement. The process of evolution from the flesh to the spirit is yet proceeding and the unknown sculptor who makes these images to-day in huts in Bengal still infuses into the limbs of the goddess a vigour which is the outcome of an age-long tradition, the race expression of the inevitable urge of life that has not as yet found its equilibrium.

Contrasted with this are the inner experience and

artistic means which have carved the massive yet well-defined forms of the sleeping Vishnu in the South Indian temples. In front of the god the beholder stands awe-struck, overpowered by sheer immensity. Vishnu is in perfect rest on the waters of eternity. The thousand-hooded snake broods over his sleep. All this is on so vast a scale that space seems conquered. The surrounding impenetrable darkness figures to the mind a fathomless depth, so that the intellect loses its bearings and is driven to the immaterial and the unknown.

Symbolic City and Temple Planning.—But this education of the intellect so that it can lose itself is imparted by all artistic creations whose presence beautifies the entire temple. In the South the city itself resembles the body of Vishnu or Garuda with limbs outstretched, or it is planned after the sacred lotus. In the lotus plan, the city has four gates in four directions, and roads and parks in rows like the petals of the flower. This plan is applied also to the internal arrangements of a temple, which is thus the city in miniature. The temple of Siva is in Nairit, where is Yama's abode and where also is to be found the burning *ghat* of the city. In the south is Vishnu's temple. The lotus pattern is repeated in the dome of the *Sabha-Mandapam*, the seat of the assembly of the village community, while the *sikhara* of a Vishnu temple or the spire of Siva's testify the noble classical conceptions of the mountains of Meru or Kailasa respectively. Entering the temple, we have on the walls right and left and on the ceiling of the lofty aisles and spacious corridors illustrations from the *Puranas*, the Epics and other folk-lore which feed the imagination and satisfy the spirit. Scenes of filial love and service, compassion and pity, heroism and sacrifice, humility and reverence are delineated with an eloquence of ornamental detail and a synoptic apprehension of the whole of life as an ever-flowing, uninter-

rupted movement that are truly remarkable. Through the ceaseless procession of life, the beholder is initiated by degrees to images of Life, Death or Eternity, and ultimately to the central idea that the whole city or temple seeks to utter—the horizontal expansion allowing thinking space to the brain and the mystic pointing upward satisfying the aspirations of the soul. The holiness of the temple converges into the reliquary proper through dark and ascending stairs and narrowing space. A quiet depth lingers dream-like round the *sanctus sanctorum*. It is there that we find a colossal symbol of the divine creative energy, which rises high as far as the eye can reach in one black solid mass, thus expressing the vastness of fathomless space itself; or there is the figure of Vishnu, rolling on the dark space in full, heavy mass: there nothing is empty, but all is engulfed by the all-pervading reality. Materially there could be nothing more solid and towering than these figures, but the beholder in gazing at or contemplating them is filled with the serenity and repose which is of the gods. Or, again, there is nothing there, no images or altars, but a complete, perfect circle, the mystic symbol of the universal, creative Formlessness which supplies the background of every form and external expression.

Spiritualisation of Secular Art.—But it is not the religious creations alone that are endowed with spiritual charm. The Indian artist sees a sacredness in the most commonplace objects in creation and expresses the passing feelings in terms of the permanent. This is true even of the more recent Rajput and Mughal schools of Indian art, which abound in examples of the so-called secular themes. There, even in the lowest forms of imitative art, in historical themes and portraiture, the artist has been able to invest his work with a spiritual serenity, so that the personalities depicted therein in spite of the crowding and restless associations of their lives seem to be

spiritually remote and detached from the tumult and concern of mundane existence. Other illustrations are the familiar representations of musical modes in Indian art, where one sees the various rhythms of music dexterously expressed in terms of colour. Take, for instance, the musical mode, *Vrindavani sarang*. The scene depicted is that of a young woman in a coloured mantle walking through the forest. A thirsty deer stands in her way and craves her sympathy. Across the arid and sparsely-wooded landscape, there runs a clear white stream. As the symphony spreads the afternoon sky and reaches the horizon line, one understands the deception of life and feels the pang and despair of leaving the clear cool stream for the world life which gives no solace to the craving soul.

Indian Art—Living, Creative, and Socialising.—Such are some of the conceptions which are the measure of Indian art and which are yet living traditions in Indian life. Indian art is not abstract, but is something living and concrete. It reveals the mass-life of man and Nature for the masses of the people, and is therefore socialising and ethical. It creates in folk-lore and painting, in myth and poetry, symbols that spring from various forms of social and individual relationships and evoke feelings irrespectively of a man's social status. In Indian legends and myths the gods descend to the earth and live the life of the common people. Thus the most familiar activities of everyday life are endowed with sacredness and spiritual charm. The eternal child, Gopal, is the objective of parental devotion and love in every Indian household. Radha and Krishna have attracted to themselves all the passion of romantic love. There is also the Eternal Mother, and the Indian learns by tradition to look upon every woman in her image. These eternal relationships live by oral tradition and are recreated in art; in either form binding man to

his fellows in vital, indissoluble bonds. These develop a sense of the value and responsibility of life, which inspires a loving humility and sacrifice and a profound sympathy for those who are the victims of fate or misfortune.

NOTES

Dance of Nataraja.—"The Hindus do not regard the religious, æsthetic and scientific standpoints as necessarily conflicting and in all their finest work, whether musical, literary or plastic, these points of view, nowadays so sharply distinguished, are inseparably united. This synthesis is nowhere better realised than in the image of Nataraja. The interpretation of the dance is as follows: In the night of Brahma, Nature is inert and cannot dance till Siva wills it. He rises from his stillness, and, dancing, sends through matter pulsating waves of awakening sound, proceeding from the drum: then Nature also dances, appearing about him as a glory. Then in the fullness of time, still dancing, He destroys all Names and Forms by Fire, and there is new rest. Thus Time and the Timeless are reconciled by the conception of phase-alternations extending over vast areas of space and great tracts of time. The orderly dance of the spheres, the perpetual movement of atoms, evolution and involution are conceptions that have at all times recurred to men's minds; but to represent them in the visible form of Nataraja's Dance is a unique and magnificent achievement of the Indians."—(A. K. Coomaraswamy, in his *Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon*.)

Auspicious Symbols.—In India various common plants, flowers and natural objects have been pressed into the service of symbolism and ritual, or for the expression of an auspicious or festive meaning in the details of the daily life of the household. In South India the *tali* is worn by the bride on whose neck it is tied by the bridegroom. The silver bangle and ringlet, the ear pendant and the string of black beads are emblematic of the happiness in married life of the woman. In Bengal the vermilion paint on the forehead and the iron banglet are similar auspicious

emblems. The sign of the woman's left palm is auspicious for marriage occasions throughout the South. The water vase with the coco-nut over which are hung the lithe branches of the mango, the plantain trunks, and the mango-festoons and the ears of paddy mingled with *ala* leaves, bespeak a festive occasion. The drawings of diverse colours on the floor called *rangavalli* in the South and *alipana* in the North are far more elaborate in the South than in Northern India. In Malabar one sees in the village in the early morning even in the quarters of the Sudras the door fronts and streets decorated with the finely-drawn auspicious figures, which a visitor is loth to erase with his footprints. Rice, *masha*, *muga*, turmeric, *kunkuma*, are auspicious everywhere. The areca-nut flower, representing *vanashankari*, is worshipped in the South, when it blossoms forth in the evening, for giving plenty just before harvesting. In Bengal the basketful of rice, *chowri*-clad, is dedicated to Lakshmi, the household goddess of prosperity. In the South the pot of grain on which is placed a coco-nut interspersed with mango leaves is dedicated to the goddess on the *bara-maha* Lakshmi day. In Malabar on occasions of marriage plantain trees with plantains and bunches of areca- and coco-nut tied to them are planted in the four corners. Below them are the basketfuls of rice decorated with flowers of coco-nut. In Coorg, when the crop is harvested, the ears of paddy are removed and mingled with *ala* leaves and made into festoons. The festoons are tied to the cradles, churning bamboo-pots, rice-pots, boxes, poles in the threshing floor, the wooden centre-posts of the house and the fruit trees of the orchard. It is characteristic that in parts of Northern India when the harvest is reaped the paddy ears are similarly tied to all goods which are prized most in the home, for this is believed to multiply them. The evergreen *aswattha*, which guards over the village in its generations, is sacred, and the offerings of water are dedicated by the responsive people. The lotus, the mystic symbol of the Creation, the *aparajita* and the *karavi*, phallic emblems among the flowers, are required in daily worship ; while the sun and the lotus, the moon and the water-lily, the crimson *asoka*, red with passion, the *arundhati*, the star of fixed devotion, the *kadamba*, the *chakravak* and the

chakravaki, are all associated with the cycle of love's destiny. Such are some of the perennial emblems, gleaned from the life of Nature, which are fraught with deep symbolical meanings of human life and destiny and which meet us at every turn in daily work and worship, in rejoicing and festivity.

The Theatre in the East.—In the East the theatre even now preserves much of its ancient tradition. The structure and wisdom here so powerfully evident prove beyond question that the unanimous spiritual activity of a whole race produces forms as irrefutable as perfect engineering : beside which the slight and peculiar edifices of Art, the individual's aspiration, tremble on a most insecure foundation.

The Eastern actor is such by caste and heredity, and he enters upon his education in early childhood : it includes all the arts of speech, song and dance, since the drama makes use of these, and the actor must therefore also be a dancer and singer.

The language of the dance is as fixed and searching as the spoken language of the race. Just as the writer does not invent words, so the dancer does not invent gestures : he does not compose the dance, or in any way affect its scheme, which has been expounded in the Scriptures. Here nothing is required of the dancer but physical obedience : however heated a scene, every quiver of the hand, and the subtlest facial expressions are the result of obedience to precise rules. The actor never steps into his part ; he never feels it for himself ; such an intrusion of personality would immediately mar the spectacular and rhythmic character of the performance. Hence the unassailable poise of the Oriental actor, who is cool and impersonal in the midst of the most passionate action : expressing whatever is required without losing himself in emotion, he is inexhaustible. In a system so highly evolved it is impossible for a stranger to read the meaning behind the symbolism. For example, a Chinese performance is so essentially formal that the movement of the plot cannot be detected by the stranger, nor can he know what emotions are being expressed. The slight movement of a finger may be a sign of great passion or indication of a whole train of

events important to the story. This is more or less so throughout the East, and it is often only by the superb calm vigour of an actor's manner that one senses how solemn an inspiration lies behind his performance.

The *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* are the inexhaustible springs of light which have for centuries illumined the life of India. These epics reveal every worldly and spiritual experience possible to man, through the sublimest imagery. The modern Indian *Nautch* relates the adventures and activities of Krishna, and is a dance highly philosophic in essence and esoteric in form.

The Javanese theatre is almost wholly built on Indian tradition and makes use of the Indian epics. But here the theatre is not so severely a sign of language, and emotions and actions may be recognised by reason of the greater expressiveness of the gestures employed. In the shadow theatre of Java there exists a form of drama in its finest purity. Here one discovers the keynote to the essential behaviour of every Oriental actor—the submissiveness and complete impersonality of a puppet. Indeed, it is his conscious wish to be a puppet in the hands of a divine overlord. While the shadow-show achieves the splendour and grip of a living thing, the human dancer is true to his part, and infallible as a well-managed puppet. In such a state of mind it needs neither thought nor effort to respond to the demands made upon him, however severe and complicated these may be.

A reciter—the *Dalan*—guides the marionettes and accompanies their rhythmic movements with the recital of ancient legends. He must possess great versatility. He needs to be, as Karl Hagemann says (*Folkgames*, Berlin, 1921) at once a philosopher, poet, composer, improviser, stage director, speaker, singer, orchestra leader, ballet-master, and stage inspector. The mass of spectators appreciate the efforts of the *Dalan* and regard him with worshipful eyes. In him a deep cultural significance has taken form. He may be likened to the ancient Brahman minstrels who sang in measured cadences to devout assemblies hymns whose origins were lost in the dim mist of prehistoric days. Even though the Javan of to-day is Mohammedan, the goblin of their religious emotions and thoughts shows many a delicately coloured thread taken

over from the Brahmans and the Buddhists, a condition similar to the Far East where the followers of Laotse, Confucius, Buddha and the Shintoists manage to get along very well together.—(Stella Bloch: *Dancing and the Drama in Orient*, Vol. I, No. 3.)

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